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DR. JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON  
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By the death of Dr. James A. Robertson at Annapolis on March 20, 1939, THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has lost the editor who successfully piloted the journal from the first issue to the second number of the eighteenth volume. Readers and friends alike will mourn his passing and miss his contributions in the Hispanic-American field. Dr. Robertson attended the meeting, called by Professor Charles E. Chapman during the sessions of the American Historical Association at Cincinnati in 1916, at which the establishment of the REVIEW was decided upon. He served as secretary of that meeting, was active in the further development of the plans, and was chosen as first editor. When adverse conditions caused the suspension of the REVIEW in 1922 he stood by awaiting developments which would revive the project. Later Duke University Press undertook the responsibility for the publica-

tion, and his editorial task was resumed in 1926. Quarter by quarter the materials were prepared so that the successive issues might go forth on their appointed mission. The afternoon before he was stricken by fatal illness he was in the office of the writer and was making plans as always for future numbers.

This long period of editorship of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW was the natural result of his experiences and interests. After graduation from Western Reserve University in 1896, his career began as proof reader on *The Jesuit Relations*. Having formed a friendship with Miss Emma Blair, he joined her in the project of collecting and editing documents relating to the Philippines. For five years (1902-1907) searches were conducted in the archives and libraries of Europe and the United States for materials which were incorporated in the fifty-five volumes of *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. He then gave attention to the records of parts of the United States which once had belonged to Spain. This work resulted in the *List of Documents in the Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States which have been Printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries*, which was prepared for the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Two volumes of documents below the title of *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, were edited and published in 1911. He prepared a facsimile edition of the original *True Relation* of the exploits of De Soto by a Gentleman of Elvas, together with a new translation of this work from the Portuguese. Later he was active in the work of the Florida State Historical Society, editing its publications and directing the acquisition of transcripts and photographic copies of documents from the General Archive of the Indies.

From 1910 to 1915 he was librarian of the Philippine Library at Manila and effected for it the purchase of the valuable Philippine collection of the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipina of Barcelona. He also personally assembled during these years and after, one of the most complete collections of Filipiniana in existence. Throughout his life he was much interested in bibliography, emphasizing this phase of the



work of the REVIEW and being a founder and serving a term as president of the Inter-American Bibliographic and Library Association. Numerous bibliographies and bibliographic articles were published by him. His active participation in the development of close relations with the nations south of the Rio Grande, as well as his editorial ability, led to his choice as editor of the Inter-American Historical Series. Of this series the volumes relating to Argentina and Colombia have appeared and that for Brazil is in press. His career closed while serving as Archivist of the State of Maryland. Here for four years he dedicated himself to organizing a new archive to care for the colonial and state records. Not a prolific writer, he has to his credit, however, many articles, especially regarding the Philippines and other subjects in which he was interested.

In reviewing his life it is noted that his earliest work led to the field of his major activity. Historical documents may be said to be the key of all he did. He spent his life collecting, editing, translating, and caring for them. He was full of enthusiasm, and ever demonstrated a deep interest in the subjects to which he devoted his attention. He was always ready to give encouragement to workers in the Hispanic-American field, and his counsels were always of a helpful character. Dr. Robertson will be long remembered as a scholar and a gentleman who left an example of devotion, labor, and activity in the fields of history and bibliography which may well be emulated by the younger generation of historians.

VALE DOCTOR ROBERTSON

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

THE CONCEPT OF THE *SEÑOR NATURAL*  
AS REVEALED BY  
CASTILIAN LAW AND ADMINISTRATIVE  
DOCUMENTS

The concept of the *señor natural* was an integral part of the political thought of Castile in the middle ages and the renaissance, and the term occurs frequently in Castilian codes, laws, decrees, *fueros*, and administrative documents, legal treatises, and political and historical writings of those periods. Relatively frequent appearance of the term in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso el Sabio indicates that by the mid-thirteenth century the concept was fully formed and generally comprehended. While the concept was an accepted part of Castilian thought, it does not appear to have been widely current outside of the Iberian Peninsula. The idea, consequently, would, in a technical sense, seem to be fundamentally a Castilian, or perhaps a Spanish, conception.<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of the contexts in which the term appears, the *señor natural* is to be defined as a lord who, by inherent nature of superior qualities, goodness, and virtue, and by birth of superior station, attains power legitimately and exercises dominion over all within his lands justly and in accord with divine, natural, and human law and reason, being universally accepted, recognized, and obeyed by his vassals and subjects and acknowledged by other lords and their peoples as one who rightfully possesses his office and rightfully wields authority within his territory. The dominion held by such a lord is *señorío natural*. In its fullest sense, the concept applies to the emperor or king, but it also connotes lesser lords, *duques*, *condes*, *marqueses*, and other *señores*, who hold

<sup>1</sup> The king, as a *señor natural*, was also conceived of as *rey natural*, and the term *señor y rey natural* is sometimes found. *Señor natural*, it should be made clear, was a concept, and the term was never employed as a specific title in the technical sense.



authority over vassals and subjects. Thus, the king of Castile is the *señor natural* of all within his realms, whether of high or low degree, while the *duques, condes*, and other lords are in turn *señores naturales* of those within their lands. In the hypothetical case of acknowledgment by the king of Castile of the overlordship of the emperor, the latter would have become the *señor natural* of the former. The concept applies exclusively to temporal dominion, although spiritual lords exercising temporal authority are included. Women holding dominion, whether sovereigns or of lesser dignity, come within the concept, and are *señoras naturales* of the people of their lands.<sup>2</sup>

The concept of the *señor natural* was applied in the Indies with reference to the dominion and position held by native rulers and lords and to the relation of these lords to the king of Castile. In its practical aspects it was employed as a means of assuring the subjection of the masses of the people through control of their already established *señores*, and in its theoretical, it was given application with respect to the juridical right of dominion possessed by the sovereign of Castile and his representatives and in assessing tributes and services. Hence Moctezuma was the *señor natural* of all within the Aztec Empire, while subject to him were lesser lords who were the *señores naturales* of the peoples of the lands over which they held sway. The Inca, likewise, was the *señor natural* of his realms. In Yucatán, as but one other example, the Xiu, the ruling family of the independent *cacicazgo*, or province, of Maní, who had held dominion for a considerable period before the conquest, were recognized by the crown as the *señores naturales* of their territories. *Caciques* of very limited areas, or even towns, if of established ruling families, were acknowledged by the Castilians as *señores naturales* of their peoples. The king of

<sup>2</sup> In treating of the social classes of Aragon in the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, Rafael Altamira y Crevea in his *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (4 vols., Barcelona, 1913-1914), I, 446, writes of *ricos-hombres de natura* as follows: "Distingúanse en ella (the nobility of Aragon) varios grados, siendo el primero el de los *ricos-hombres de natura*, que se consideraban descendientes de los primeros conquistadores. . . ."

Castile was, in turn, the *señor natural* of the native lords and of their subjects.<sup>3</sup>

The concept of the *señor natural* finds its origins deep in medieval Castilian political philosophy, which derived from that of Greece and Rome, Roman and Germanic law, the Holy Scriptures, the patristic writings, the works of the canonists, and scholastic thought, and it was influenced by feudal theory and practice. In the broader sense, the concept relates to the universal order of things with respect to the divine will, nature, justice, natural law, and reason and to the position of him who wields dominion within that order and the origin and character of his authority. It is thus fundamentally related to the more specific theories of lordship, dominion, and just title. Further, it concerns the nature, qualities, and endowments (the *naturaleza*) of the *señor natural*, a person of inherently superior capacity, wisdom, virtue, and goodness.

The *señor natural*, consequently, is one who by his own nature and in his own right is foreordained to hold dominion, and it is in accord with the divine will, nature, reason, justice, and natural law that he should hold sway over his fellows. His vassals and subjects owe obedience to him in accord with divine, natural, and human law, nature, reason, and justice, and his government must perforce be in conformance with these principles. He is obliged to protect and defend his subjects, and they must love, reverence, honor, and defend, as well as obey, him.

The term *señor natural* almost invariably appears in connection with the duties and obligations of the vassal to his

<sup>3</sup> *Señor universal* was employed in certain instances to designate great native rulers, and *señor particular* to designate lesser and subordinate lords. These concepts are related to that of the *señor natural*, both *señores universales* and *señores particulares* being *señores naturales*. Cf. Carta de Fray Nicolás de Witte a un ilustrísimo señor, Meztitlán, 21 de agosto de 1554, and Carta parecer de Fray Toribio de Motolinía y de Fray Diego de Olarte a Don Luis de Velasco el Primero, 27 de agosto de 1554, in Mariano Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de México* (México, 1914), pp. 221-228 and 228-232. *Cacicazgo natural* is sometimes employed in connection with the dominion possessed by a *cacique* of the status of *señor natural*, and the term *cacique natural* is found. It is to be noted that the concept of *señor natural* was applied to native lords despite the counter-theories adduced to justify their dispossession and the transfer of dominion to the sovereign of Castile.



lord. In Castile, *vasallo* from medieval times was employed in two senses: (1) with reference to all of the subjects of the king or other lord;<sup>4</sup> and (2) with reference to the relationship between the lord and vassal in the technical feudal sense. When *señor natural* appears in connection with *vasallo* in the first of these connotations, the duties and obligations involved are those owed to the ruler by all of his subjects under the broader theory of obedience; when the second connotation is involved, the obligations are those of a true feudal vassal to his lord.

The content of certain laws and *fueros* clearly establishes the feudal origins of elements of the concept of the *señor natural*, and, furthermore, the existence of lesser *señores naturales*, to whom their peoples owe recognition and who in turn acknowledge the king as the supreme *señor natural*, implies division under feudal practice. As already noted, those under the dominion of a lesser *señor natural* owe obedience and allegiance to the sovereign as the highest *señor natural*. It should be suggested, also, that primarily the concept carries the connotation of a personal relationship rather than of territorial status, although the latter idea is not wholly absent.

The establishment of the status of *señor natural* would seem to be related to the achievement of that position through possession of dominion within a family over a considerable period of time, and it is possible that origin within the territory over which dominion is held is also concerned. Legitimate and hereditary claim and accession appear definitely to be involved, especially with relation to the king, and may have played an important part in the development of the concept. While possession of dominion over a period of time seems to be involved, it may be suggested that the election

<sup>4</sup> *Solariegos* of Castile, comparable in many respects to serfs elsewhere in western Europe during the Middle Ages, were included within the connotations of *vasallo* in its broader sense, being referred to at times as *vasallos solariegos*. *Mudéjares* were frequently referred to as *vasallos mudéjares*, and the natives of the new world were the direct *vasallos* of the sovereign of Castile. Cf. Ernesto Mayer, *Historia de las Instituciones sociales y políticas de España y Portugal durante los Siglos V á XIV* (2 vols., Madrid, 1925-1926), I, 176 ff., for a discussion of the connotations of *vasallo*.

of a king by the estates, the acceptance of a lord by his subjects through election, as with the *behetrías* of Castile, or the designation of a lord by the king and acceptance by the people concerned, would immediately establish the status of *señor natural*.<sup>5</sup>

A tyrant is the direct opposite of a *señor natural*, both with regard to the mode by which he acquires power and the methods by which he governs. Consequently, if one who rightfully achieved dominion and exercised authority as a *señor natural* were to govern contrary to divine, natural, and human law, justice, and reason, and thus to act in contradiction of his supposedly inherently superior nature, he would thereby lose his title.

It is to be inferred, given the religious beliefs of Castile, that orthodoxy with respect to the doctrines of the Church of Rome would be essential to any *señor natural* of a Christian polity and that heresy would prevent any individual from achieving or maintaining that status. While orthodox beliefs may be taken to have been generally assumed until the Reformation, it would seem logical to suppose that henceforth rulers who adopted or followed heretical doctrines, with Elizabeth of England and Henry IV of France, before his conversion, as outstanding examples, forfeited or failed to acquire the title of *señor natural*. Whether Moorish rulers in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, certain of whom were vassals and tributaries of the kings of Castile, and with whom the latter upon occasion concluded alliances and other treaty arrangements, and other non-Christian rulers were excluded from, or came within, the concept is an interesting point of speculation. The fact that, despite early conversion, native lords in the Indies were recognized as *señores*

<sup>5</sup> *Vasallo natural* and *vasallos naturales* appear with reference to the vassals of a *señor natural*. When employed in this connection, *natural* and *naturales* are respectively the equivalent of *súbdito (sujeto)* and *súbditos (sujetos)*. The connotations of *vasallo natural* and *vasallos naturales* seem to have been expanded, in consonance with the broader meanings of the concept, to signify subjects who by nature and through territorial origins owe obedience and allegiance to the *señor natural* who holds dominion over the territory, i.e., kingdom, *condado*, *señorio*, city, or town, of which they are native. In this connection, *natural* and *naturales* in the same sense of natal origins with respect to territory should also be noted.



*naturales* on the basis of the exercise of dominion before the arrival of the Castilians would seem to indicate a certain degree of latitude in the interpretation of the concept.

Through assuming the imperial dignity and the kingship of the Spanish monarchies, Charles V united in himself the title of *señor natural* of the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, Aragon, and Castile. Thus the concept was fulfilled in its most complete connotations and highest sense by the ruler who was in theory the temporal head of all Christendom.<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding, with respect to Castile, since that kingdom was in actuality not within the empire, Charles V was *señor natural* not by right of the imperial office as such, which was an additional honor, but because he was sovereign of the realms of the crown of Castile. Upon his abdication, the connection with the imperial dignity was again broken. In theory, the same basic circumstances had existed with respect to Alfonso el Sabio upon his election to the throne of the empire, although he did not actually assume the dignity. It is to be noted in this connection, furthermore, that in the *Siete Partidas* it is specifically declared that kings existed before emperors and that the king in his realm holds the same position as does the emperor in his, indicating that the former when ruler of an independent monarchy is equal to the emperor in sovereign status and that consequently he enjoys equal claim to the title of *señor natural* in its full sense.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Charles V was at times referred to by Castilian subjects as *señor universal*.

<sup>7</sup> The following references illustrate the usage of the term *señor natural* and indicate the broader theories on which the concept is based:

a. [Fuero de Soria], Paragraph 492. (This *fuero* was granted not prior to 1190 or posterior to 1214.)

Galo Sánchez, *Fueros castellanos de Soria y Alcalá de Henares* (Madrid, 1919).

b. Fuero Real de España. (Reign of Alfonso X).

Libro I, Títulos II and III.

Libro IV, Título IV, Ley X.

c. Espéculo. (Reign of Alfonso X).

Título I, Leyes I, III.

Título IV.

d. Las Siete Partidas. (Reign of Alfonso X).

La Primera Partida, Título I, Leyes II, III, V, VI, XVI.

La Segunda Partida

Título I, Leyes I, V, VII, VIII, IX, X.

Título V, Ley VIII.

Título VIII, Ley I.

Título XII, Prólogo.

Título XIII, Leyes XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XXVI.

Título XVIII, Leyes XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII.

Título XXVI, Leyes IV, XIV.

La Cuarta Partida

Título XXIII, Prólogo.

Título XXIV, Prólogo, Leyes I, II, III, IV.

Título XXV, Prólogo, Leyes, I, II.

e. Fuero Viejo de Castilla. (The date of the final compilation and the legal status of the so-called Fuero Viejo are uncertain.)

Libro I.

Titul I, Ley I.

Titul IV, Leyes I, II.

f. [*Carta Real* of July 10, 1421, to "todos los concejos e alcaldes e caualleros e escuderos e oficiales e homes buenos de la ciudad de Santiago e de todas las villas e lugares de su arzobispado e al Dean e Cabildo e clerisia de la dicha Iglesia e Arzobispado" and notification of this *carta real* to the *cabildo eclesiástico* of the City of Santiago, June 27, 1421.]

Antonio López Ferreiro, *Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su Tierra* (2 vols. in one, Santiago, 1895), II, 47-49.

g. Poder que el Concejo, Alcalde Corregidor, Justicia y Regimiento de la villa del Puerto de Santa Maria, otorgaron a Andres Fernandez y Juan Sanchez, regidores, para que iuarasen en la villa de Medinaceli por su señora natural a Doña Leonor de la Cerda. . . .(1479).

A. Paz y Melia, *Serie de los mas importantes Documentos del Archivo y Biblioteca del Exmo. Señor Duque de Medina-Celi* (2 vols., Madrid, 1915-1922), I, 78-79.

h. [Reception of Philip I by Officials of the City of Santiago, June 1, 1506.] López Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, II, 190-192.

i. Real Cedula de la Señora Reyna Doña Juana, su Data en Burgos á 6 de Abril de 1508. . . .

Luis Morales García-Goyena, *Documentos históricos de Málaga* (Granada, 1906- ), I, 229-233.

j. Segunda carta-relación de Hernan Cortés al Emperador: fecha en Segura de la Sierra á 30 de octubre de 1520.

Pascual de Gayangos, *Cartas y Relaciones de Hernan Cortés al Emperador Carlos V* (Paris, 1866), pp. 51-157 (especially pp. 66-69, 86-87, 98-100, 113, 115, 151-152).

k. Carta de Fray Nicolás de Witte a un ilustrísimo señor, Meztitlán, 21 de agosto de 1554.

Mariano Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de México* (México, 1914), pp. 221-228.

l. Carta parecer de Fray Toribio de Motolinía y de Fray Diego de Olarte a Don Luis de Velasco el Primero, 27 de agosto de 1554.

Cuevas, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-232.

m. Francisco de Xerez, *Conquista del Perú*, opening paragraph. (First edition, Sevilla, 1534).



- n. *The Xiu Chronicles*. MS., Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The term *señor natural* occurs in a number of places in this manuscript, with reference to lords of the Xiu family.
- o. Recopilación de las leyes destos Reinos (Nueva Recopilación), 1567.  
 Libro Segundo, Título Tercero, Ley primera.
- p. Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla, *Política para Corregidores*. . . . (2 vols., Amberes, 1750), Libro II, Capítulo VII, Número 29. (First edition, Madrid, 1597.)
- q. Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias (1681).  
 Libro VI  
 Título V, Ley iiiii.  
 Título VII, Leyes i, ii, iii, iv, vii, viii.
- r. Francisco Ximénez, *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores* (3 vols., Guatemala, 1929-1931), Libro Primero, Capítulo XLI. (Francisco Ximénez was born in 1666, and died posterior to 1720.)
- s. Manuel Colmeiro, *Curso de Derecho político según la Historia de León y Castilla* (Madrid, 1873), p. 137.

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## EARLY SPANISH IMPERIALISM

One can understand the Spaniards' conception of their motives and rights to the new world only in the light of the ideology and artifacts of sixteenth-century European culture. Yet merely to recognize the greater importance attached to religious values and to note the increased attention directed to mundane delights which the renaissance signified is not enough. Emphasis must be placed upon the dynamic character of the period—upon the conflict of ideals and objectives which accompanied the rise of materialism.

The values usually associated with medieval Europe persisted longer in Spain than in the majority of states. This was the natural concomitant of that country's rôle as champion of the counter-reformation. But one cannot overlook the powerful factors tending to create and strengthen the desire for increased material enjoyments. Greater quantities and varieties of consumers' goods which followed the crusades and the great discoveries, and the period of prosperity which accompanied the rising price level caused by the influx of the precious metals from America, could not fail to affect even Spain.<sup>1</sup> Hence Spain's colonial policy was to present a curious mixture of motives—some spiritual and some materialistic, indicative of the age then just beginning.

The motives for discovery are not necessarily identical with those for colonization, and this seems to have been the case with Spain. It is the latter which concern us primarily. Of the former it is sufficient to note the desire for the precious

<sup>1</sup> Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (Cambridge, 1934), chs. VIII-XIII.

While conditions in Great Britain differed markedly from those in Spain, it is interesting to note that the period between 1540 and 1640 witnessed in the former state the introduction of improvements in the arts and technique of production, the growth of production on a large scale, and the speeding up of economic activity in general. It is at least possible that the industrial revolution would have begun a century or more earlier had man's ingenuity been equal to the task of substituting coke for charcoal in the smelting process. Cf. J. U. Nef, "The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large-Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540-1640", in *Economic History Review*, V, 3-24.



metals and for new trade routes to the east,<sup>2</sup> and the adventurous spirit of the particular individuals involved. Since the relative importance of the possible motives underlying either discovery or colonization varied with the individuals concerned, the best one can hope for is a generalization sharply limited in its applicability.

One who reads the official communications of the Spanish government, the laws enacted, the philosophers of the day, cannot fail to be impressed by the importance accorded the Christianizing of the Indians as a primary purpose of Spanish colonial policy. The first obligation imposed upon Columbus by Ferdinand and Isabella was to convert the natives; and at the same time provision was made for the dispatch of missionaries.<sup>3</sup> This was the first duty of the viceroys of New Spain and Peru.<sup>4</sup> Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, famed administrator in colonial affairs, and philosopher as well, held that the desire to convert and correct the backward race was a primary motive for exploration, and that God had given the new world to the Spaniards for this purpose. He had supplied the impulses, inspirations, and motives of the kings and Columbus.<sup>5</sup> In view of the spirit of the age, the impartial student cannot dismiss evidence of this sort as mere rationalizing.

This is not to deny the importance of purely economic motives. Even Solórzano conceded that pecuniary gain was the sole object of some individuals, although "esso no quita el merito de tantos buenos. . . ."<sup>6</sup> And in view of the awakened economic activity noted above, the increasing importance of the materialistic objective must have been felt by kings and subjects alike.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (4 vols., Barcelona, 1913-1914, III, 45 ff., 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV* (5 vols., Madrid, 1859), II, No. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía* (42 vols., Madrid, 1864-1884. Hereinafter referred to as *Col. Doc. Inéd.*), XXIII, 426, 520-527, 552.

<sup>5</sup> Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana* (edited by Francisco Ramiro Valenzuela; 2 vols., Madrid, 1736), lib. I, cap. IX.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. I, cap. XII, art. 7.

This paper is primarily concerned with the policies pursued by the Spanish Crown. While the rulers undoubtedly appreciated the people's needs for the precious metals, and while they, like their subjects, probably believed that increased amounts of treasure meant increased national wealth, they also had peculiar needs which stimulated their search for gold and silver.

In the first place, the Spanish rulers, at least until toward the close of the reign of Charles V (1556), were expansionists. Their desire to extend the Catholic religion and to increase their possessions led to numerous and costly wars. The utilization of mercenary troops, at that time becoming a widespread practice in Europe, doubtless increased the expense of undertakings of this sort. Although Philip II, following the advice of his predecessor, was not so greatly concerned with expansion as the latter, the movement by no means came to a halt, and the wars did not cease. Consequently the need for funds persisted.

It is not impossible that another urgent demand for revenues was making itself felt at this time. The Spanish government, in common with nearly all the new, national states, was an absolute monarchy. Even as early as the reign of Charles V, however, democratic tendencies had made appreciable headway in some parts of Europe. This progress was generally made possible by the paucity of revenues, funds being offered in return for a "redress of grievances". It may be that the Spanish rulers consciously sought the precious metals in order to stifle demands from their subjects and to consolidate their position.

It is thus evident that both spiritual and materialistic desires motivated the Spanish rulers of the period. The evidence upon which one might determine the relative importance of these motives is insufficient to indicate a definite conclusion. In answer to the charge that the rulers' primary purpose was pecuniary, Solórzano pointed out that the expenses incurred were greater than the profits realized, and that colonization was carried on despite losses.<sup>7</sup> But even assuming the financial accuracy of this statement, such an argument means little

<sup>7</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I-XII-6



to the student of modern imperialism, for the case in which a mother country profits from its colonies, in the sense of a surplus of receipts over expenditures, is rare indeed.

On the other hand, such instances as the following, related by Lillian Estelle Fisher, were by no means uncommon:

In 1668, it was decided by the viceroy, with the advice of the junta general de hacienda, to aid the Jesuits in the Ladrões or Marianas Islands by sending them ten thousand pesos. At first the Council of the Indies did not approve of this measure, since it drew a considerable amount of money from the treasury without a special order. After investigating the matter, the king gave his consent in a decree of June 1, 1671, and ordered Mancera to help the mission as liberally as possible.<sup>8</sup>

There were repeated instances of the willingness of the kings to sacrifice revenues for the sake of converting the Indians. Such an attitude renders doubtful a purely economic interpretation of early Spanish imperialism.

If it be too much to assert that the Spanish rulers were purely or even primarily missionaries at heart, it does not seem possible to deny that they were sincere in their desire to propagate the Catholic faith among the Indians. Given the age in which they lived and the rôle they played in Europe, that is assuredly a reasonable conclusion. If more materialistic desires were awakened and fostered by other conditions at home and by the sight of nearly fabulous wealth yielded by the newly discovered lands, it is equally certain that the purpose of conversion was never forgotten. If the right to the products of the new world was conditioned, as the Spanish kings in fact believed it to be, upon their providing the Indians with the means of living as civilized human beings in this life and of attaining eternal salvation in the next, the least that can be said is that the Spanish rulers exerted every effort to keep their part of the bargain.

Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza of New Spain was ordered in 1535 to pay particular attention to the conversion and instruction of the natives and to other matters "concernientes al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y descargo de Nuestras Reales

<sup>8</sup> Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies* (Berkeley, 1926), p. 185.

conciencias. . .'.<sup>9</sup> References to the service of God and to the discharge of the obligations of the royal conscience are repeated in nearly all similar cases. This middle-of-the-road, *quid-pro-quo* basis for Spanish colonial policy seems to be the most reasonable conclusion to be derived from the records.

Turning from the consideration of the Spaniards' motives in pursuing their colonial policy to the question of their rights in the newly discovered land and its inhabitants, one is confronted with the perennial problem of ownership of person and property. The sixteenth-century version of this problem differed in several important respects from that of the modern age.

The legal and social institutions of the earlier period provided for a greater measure of social control over individuals' activities than those of the present era. From an historical standpoint, personal liberty began to increase in the upper strata of society and gradually developed both intensively and extensively. Slavery, serfdom, and mercantilism, extant in the sixteenth century, seem to indicate that personal liberty at that time was quite possibly an exception rather than the rule.

Private property rights continued, on the whole, as custom and authority had decreed for centuries. The dictum of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas to the effect that property should be owned privately and used for the common welfare seems to have been applied to durable consumers' goods and to the simple producers' goods of the medieval economy. The modern problem of property rights in the means of production is a logical outgrowth of this conception, which persisted as capital goods advanced to the position of first importance among the factors of production and as the wage-earning class, now held to be the political equals of their employers, were subjected to ill-treatment.

But in the sixteenth century capital was still relatively insignificant as a factor of production. In the agricultural economy of that period ownership of land was a much more vital question. Full private property rights in this factor, however, were not to be secured until a much later date. In

<sup>9</sup> *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XXIII, 426.



fact, Adam Smith stated in 1776 that while the alienation of land in the English colonies in America was less difficult than in other states and possessions, it was still considerably restricted.<sup>10</sup>

The medieval period, with the divine right of kingship and feudalism as political and social institutions, had considered the ownership of all lands, including mines, as vested in the monarch by divine right. This doctrine was at least as old as Roman Law which was revived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it probably dated back further than that. It repeatedly made its appearance throughout the middle ages and even far into the modern era. In the former period, the proponents of the temporal powers of the pope invested that right in him. The theory was advanced in the struggle of Boniface VIII with Philip the Fair; it was defended by such writers as Egidius Romanus, Augustinus Triumphus, and Tholomeo of Lucca. Sir John Fortescue, John Wyclife, and the defenders of the divine right of kings propounded similar claims. And of course there were many who denied them—from William of Occam and John of Paris to John Locke.

Thus the theory of the monarch's title to land was no novelty. The theorists on whom the Spaniards chiefly relied, however, had vested the rights in the pope rather than the king. Solórzano, for example, paraphrased Antonio Scapo to the effect that the jurisdiction and dominion of the lands had been vested in the Church since the coming of Christ; and that this was in accordance with divine right and natural law, equally binding upon the infidels.<sup>11</sup> In 1493, the pope delegated these rights to the Spanish kings in return for the conversion of the Indians.<sup>12</sup> This was the origin of the Spanish ruler's solemn obligations undertaken in return for their profits from the discoveries. They in turn had the power to sub-delegate the lands provided that their obligations were discharged.

<sup>10</sup> Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Cannan ed., London, 1904), II, 73, 74.

<sup>11</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I-X-9.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, arts. 23, 24 for a Spanish version of this bull.

This concept of ownership, however satisfactory it may have been to the Spaniard, apparently ignored the possibly just claims of the native. Of course, lands which were unoccupied, or had been left uncultivated, offered no serious difficulty. They belonged to those who discovered and occupied them.<sup>13</sup> This dictum was in accordance with well-known and understood practice; it was based on natural law and on the authority of Aristotle, Cicero, and Spanish students of law and ethics.

But the right to lands possessed by the Indians, and, if necessary, to go to war to secure those lands, would seem to depend upon the investiture of ownership in the ruler by the pope. In 1537, however, Pope Paul III issued a bull in which the Indian was declared to be a creature of reason and intelligence, of some capacity, and possessing some form of government.<sup>14</sup> Therefore it would be logical to conclude that some property rights were vested in the Indian rulers, at least.

It is in surmounting this obstacle that the value of the theory of original title in the pope and subsequent delegation to the king becomes apparent, for the pope was presumably superior to both Spanish and Indian rulers, at least in spiritual matters. While the delegating of lands to the king might be a temporal matter, the price paid was spiritual; and in Catholic ideology the spiritual takes precedence over the temporal. The Spanish kings were apparently willing to concede this to the pope, if they received in return the profits from the discoveries.

Since the Indians were rational beings with some sense of government, natural law would provide for some property rights before the coming of the Spaniard. These, however, the Indians were deemed to have forfeited when, upon being told of the true faith, they refused to accept it. An attitude of this sort justified deprivation of property, according to contemporary Spanish thought.<sup>15</sup>

The similarities of early Spanish imperialism to that of our day are not inconsiderable. Material and spiritual mo-

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, I-IX-13.

<sup>14</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I-IX-24.

<sup>15</sup> *Cf. ibid.*, I-X-1, 2, 3, 4.



tives existed in both eras, though there is a profound difference in the relative weight assigned to each. Present-day economic needs as motives for imperialistic expansion have been greater and consequently more significant. The need for new markets, as large-scale production progressed, the need for a source of raw materials, the need for land to care for surplus population, the demand for products of other lands, and above all the need for a market for the investment of surplus capital funds: all these make an impressive array of excuses for the state to intervene for the protection of life, liberty, and property. But these, if they existed at all in the earlier period, were of distinctly minor importance. In their place was the quest for gold and silver as national wealth was identified with the precious metals.

Furthermore, in the modern era we have our spiritual motivation as well. Not in vain did Rudyard Kipling exhort his kinsmen to take up the white man's burden, nor did Jules Ferry, across the channel, preach his "mission civilisatrice". Of course the chief objective of such a task varied in its particulars: the present era has been concerned rather with advancing the "backward" races' standard of living than with saving souls, while precisely the opposite was the case in the earlier period. The difference is merely one of emphasis: we still try to save souls, and the Spaniards certainly attempted to raise material standards of living.

The sixteenth-century Spaniard was still close enough to the middle ages to retain many of the medieval conceptions of man. With Aristotle, he believed in the natural inequality of man. Some few men are born to be leaders; they are the chosen few who are able to catch a glimmer of the light, and, having seen, return to help their less fortunate fellows who would otherwise blindly grope in Stygian darkness. The majority of men comprise these unfortunates: they are the followers. These dissimilar types must coöperate in order to maximize individual happiness and service to others. They must be cells in the greater organism of the state, for only in such a relationship can the individual attain his full development.

With a philosophical background of this order, the cry of "take up the white man's burden" possessed a significance that it could not possibly convey to the citizen of a modern republic. In the light of sixteenth-century spiritual standards, and of the philosophy which takes into account varying temperaments of men, one can well understand how Solórzano could claim with reason that it would be a sin for the king to abandon the Indians.<sup>16</sup> But between then and now has intervened the doctrine of natural equality, and of the inalienable right to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Consistency seems to demand that we of the modern era refrain from imposing our culture upon a "backward" people, and from taking what belongs to them. We cannot logically offer the excuse that we bring civilization to the benighted heathen, for the benighted heathen has an inalienable right to his own civilization—or none, if he prefer it to ours—for all men are created equal. So, though for us "take up the white man's burden" is pure rationalizing, this charge cannot be brought against the sixteenth-century Spaniard.

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<sup>16</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I-XI-22.



## SPAIN'S EMIGRANTS TO THE NEW WORLD

1492-1592

Every region of Spain contributed its share toward the emigration of the Spaniard to the new world. From the northernmost provinces of the Basque, the Asturian, and the Galician to the extreme southern regions of the Extremaduran and the Andalusian, from the borders of France and the Mediterranean to the domains of Portugal, the urge was felt to seek the wonders and the opportunities of the Indies. The island provinces of the Baleares and the Canaries, integral parts of Spain in the sixteenth century, as they are today, were also represented in the exodus which transplanted the culture of Spain from the old world to the new.

Don Gerónimo de Uztáriz, a leading Spanish political economist of the eighteenth century, has said:<sup>1</sup>

Cantabria [the Basque provinces]: Navarre, Asturias, the mountains of Burgos, and Galicia, are the provinces from which most Spaniards pass to those regions [the new world]. . . . From the provinces of Toledo, of La Mancha, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Soria, Segovia, Valladolid, and Salamanca, and others of Castile, few pass to the Indies. . . .

His statement is substantiated in part by later scholars of colonization and emigration, among whom were Herman Merivale, the English authority of the nineteenth century, and Maldonado Macañaz, a Spaniard of the same century. Both agree that the provinces of the Basques, the Catalonians, the Galicians, and the Canary Islanders supplied the greatest number of emigrants to the new world.<sup>2</sup>

The above view that most of the Spaniards emigrating to the new world were from the extreme northern or north-

<sup>1</sup> Gerónimo de Uztáriz, *Theorica, y practica de Comercio, y de Marina* . . . (Madrid, 1757), pp. 21-22. Uztáriz was influential in determining the course of reform followed by Charles III toward the Spanish possessions in America during the later half of the eighteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (London, 1839), p. 12. Joaquín Maldonado Macañaz, *Principios generales del Arte de la Colonización* . . . (Madrid, 1873), p. 10.

eastern regions, or from the Canary Islands, has been held by various scholars. However, there has been a school of linguists and historians, who have advanced the view that most of Spain's emigrants were from the extreme south in Andalusia. They base their conclusion on philological characteristics, seemingly Andalusian, which are to be found in Spanish America, as well as upon their observations that many of the early emigrants were from Andalusia. The influence of those Andalusian exponents has been so great that today their view is commonly held by many scholars.

It is true that in the first two voyages of Columbus there was a predominance of Andalusians. Oviedo points this out when he tells about the first voyage:<sup>3</sup>

All three captains [the Pinzón brothers] were brothers and pilots and natives of Palos, and the greater part of those who went in the armada were also from Palos. . . .

He continues to tell of the second voyage:<sup>4</sup>

Arriving at the city of Sevilla, he [Columbus] began there to recruit men and ships and caravels in the bay of Cádiz for this fleet. . . .

Seemingly, the above illustrations, based on the facts and the observations of a leading colonial historian, support the theory of an Andalusian origin of the greatest number of emigrants. Yet, Oviedo goes on to make it clear that after those two voyages the colonists came from all parts of Spain, and especially from Castile and León. These kingdoms had been the first to be favored by the emigration policies of Queen Isabella, although by the time of Charles V emigration had been thrown open to all parts of Spain and his empire.<sup>5</sup>

The argument might be made by an exponent of the Andalusian theory, that Oviedo's statement does not deny the fact

<sup>3</sup> Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* . . . (4 vols., Madrid, 1851-1855), lib. II, Cap. V. Pedro Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones sobre el Español en América", in the *Revista de Filología Española* (Madrid, 1914), XVIII, 121, I-.

<sup>4</sup> Oviedo, *Historia general*, lib. II, cap. VIII; Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones", in *Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII, 121.

<sup>5</sup> Philip II later restricted the emigration to natives of the Spanish kingdoms.

that the Andalusians may still have led in number during the first century of emigration. Furthermore, Andalusia, for the most part, was under the control of the crown of Castile, and, being considered a part of that kingdom, was able to take advantage of Isabella's favoring laws from the beginning.

The point is clear, nevertheless, that other regions were also active in supplying the emigrant. Las Casas states that in Santo Domingo, the first capital of the Indies, the Aragonese soon came to political control;<sup>6</sup> and Baltasar de Obregón, Mexican historian of the sixteenth century, shows that Francisco de Ibarra took 170 soldiers, most of whom were Basques, with him to explore the northeastern part of Mexico.<sup>7</sup> Hernando Cortés, the Pizarro brothers, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, Garcilaso de la Vega, Pedro de Valdivia, Hernando de Soto and Pedro de Alvarado, all famous conquerors from Extremadura, so instilled in the Extremadurans the spirit of conquest that large contingents and whole families left for the new world. It is said that so many departed, in fact, that some parts of Extremadura were left in a semi-deserted condition.<sup>8</sup> These are only a few of the illustrations showing the activities of those not emigrating from Andalusia.

The view that neither those from the extreme northern provinces and the Canaries, nor those from the extreme south in Andalusia, supplied the greatest number of emigrants, but rather, that Spain's new-world emigrants came from all parts of Spain, with no great apparent difference between the north and the south, has been gaining ground in late years.

Cuervo was probably the first to oppose seriously the popular notion of Andalusianism.<sup>9</sup> His study of a fairly large group of known emigrants shows that, out of 160, Andalusia

<sup>6</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (5 vols., Madrid, 1875-1876), lib. III, cap. XXXV; Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones", in *Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII, 122.

<sup>7</sup> Baltasar de Obregón, *Historia de los Descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España* . . . (Mexico, 1924), cap. V; Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones", in *Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII, 127.

<sup>8</sup> Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones", in *ibid.*, XVIII, 127-128.

<sup>9</sup> R. J. Cuervo, "El Castellano en América", in the *Bulletin Hispanique paraissant tous les trois Mois* . . . (Burdeaux, 1889-) III, 41-42; Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones", in *Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII, 120.



contributed 51, the Spaniards of the north and central portions of Spain gave 50, while the Canaries furnished only 1.<sup>10</sup>

The study was carried further by Luís Thayer y Ojeda, who shows that out of 1,011 known emigrants who actually played a part in the sixteenth-century colonization of Chile, the northern Spaniards from the provinces of Castile, León, Aragon, and Navarre constituted 407, or 40.2 per cent; the southern Spaniards from Andalusia, Badajoz, and the Canaries constituted 353, or 35 per cent; those from the intermediate zone of Cáceres, Murcia, and Albacete made up 69, or 6.8 per cent; while those from the lateral zone of the Basque provinces, Catalonia, Valencia, and Baleares Islands, Galicia, Portugal, and the Azores Islands were 182, or 18 per cent of the total.<sup>11</sup>

Probably the scholar who has done the most extended research upon the origin of the Spanish in America has been Pedro Henríquez Ureña. This philologist, besides doing extensive research on the origins of those going to the Indies, has studied his results and the results of others from a philological point of view. He maintains that the Spaniard from Andalusia was not in a great numerical predominance, nor were the language characteristics of the Andalusian necessarily more influential in determining the Spanish language in the new world than those of the more northern regions of Spain.<sup>12</sup>

Henríquez Ureña studied the origins of 2,774 sixteenth-century individuals coming to the Indies as given by leading historians of the colonial period and of later dates as well. Of the 2,774, the northern Spaniard comprised 1,180 persons,

<sup>10</sup> For statistical purposes, Arabic numerals will be used in the following pages.

<sup>11</sup> Luís Thayer y Ojeda, *Elementos étnicos que han intervenido en la Población de Chile* . . . (Santiago, 1919), pp. 185-213; Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones", in *Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII, 138-140. This division into the northern, southern, intermediate, and lateral zones is generally accepted today, and is based upon distinct language characteristics. Cáceres and Murcia would not be included, thus, in either the southern or the northern zones, although they do have some philological resemblances to both. If Cáceres and Murcia were to be added to the southern zone, as some scholars might suggest, any advantage thus given to the south in numbers would largely be overcome by including the Basque provinces, Catalonia and Galicia, in the northern region.

<sup>12</sup> Henríquez Ureña, "Observaciones", in *Revista de Filología Española*, VIII, 357-390; *ibid.*, XVII, 277-284; *ibid.*, XVIII, 120-148.

or 42.5 per cent; the southern Spaniard constituted 951, or 34.2 per cent; those from the intermediate zone made up 174, or 6.3 per cent; while the lateral zone supplied 469, or about 16.9 per cent.

Further work was done by Henríquez Ureña on the origin of the New Spain colonists listed in Francisco A. Icaza, *Diccionario autobiográfico de Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*. Out of 1,174 individuals, it was found that 483, or 41 per cent, represented the northern Spaniards; 526, or 44.8 per cent, constituted those from the southern zone; 81, or 6.9 per cent, represented the intermediate zone; while the lateral zone supplied 84, or about 7 per cent.

Having made certain computations based upon his own calculations and those of others, Henríquez Ureña decided to combine the results to see what percentages would be derived. Out of a total of 13,948 names, based upon those given by leading colonial historians, Thayer y Ojeda, Icaza, and investigation of the *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*,<sup>13</sup> and the statistics given by Luis Rubio y Moreno,<sup>14</sup> it was found that the northern Spaniards coming from the provinces of Castile, León, and Navarre constituted 5,823 persons, or 41.7 per cent; the southern Spaniards from the provinces of Andalusia, Badajoz, and the Canary Islands comprised 5,938 persons, or 42.5 per cent; the intermediate zone of Cáceres, Murcia and Albacete supplied 934 persons, or 6.7 per cent; and the lateral zone of Viscaya, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balears Islands, Galicia, and Portugal (239 persons) sent 1,253, or about 9 per cent.<sup>15</sup>

The result of those studies tends to show rather clearly that Uztáriz, Merivale, and Maldonado Macañaz had stated conclusions which could not be true of the first hundred years of colonization and immigration in the new world. Cuervo, Thayer y Ojeda, and Henríquez Ureña, on the other hand,

<sup>13</sup> *Catálogo de Pasajeros á Indias durante los Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Madrid, 1930, I, 1509-1533, edited by the staff of the *Archivo General de Indias*).

<sup>14</sup> *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América* (14 vols., Madrid, 1930-), VIII, 41.

<sup>15</sup> Henríquez Ureña claims that there was a probable duplication of only about 300 names.

seem to have refuted the ideas of those who claimed the other extreme, namely, that the Andalusians from southern Spain were in the great majority. It might be assumed, on the basis of Henríquez Ureña's study, that there was not much difference between the actual numbers emigrating from the southern and from the northern regions of Spain.

The author of the present essay, not content with relying solely upon the observations and conclusions arrived at by the above scholars, decided to carry on a further and an even more minute study of the regions supplying the Spanish emigrants. Most of the authorities cited above had given large general divisions of Spain, but had not distinguished among the forty-nine provinces into which Spain is divided. Furthermore, there had been no study of the percentages supplied by each province year by year. The value of such a study would be that it would check the results arrived at by others; it would show just what parts of Castile or Andalusia, for instance, supplied the greatest number of emigrants; it would show the relative percentages for each province year by year, thus indicating whether a province leading in emigration continued to stay in that relative position. Other interesting facts, too, might be discovered. The map and chart illustrating this paper show the results.

Out of a total of 5,679 licensees from known provinces who were given licenses to sail to the Indies during the years, 1509-1588, it was found that the northern Spaniards constituted 2,016, or about 35.5 per cent; those from the southern zone comprised 2,874, or about 50.6 per cent; the intermediate zone furnished 394, or about 6.7 per cent; and the lateral zone gave 398, or about 7 per cent.<sup>16</sup> These figures compare favorably with those of Henríquez Ureña, although the southern regions here have a majority of about 15 per cent. The reason for this seems to be the fact that the southern provinces sent a greater percentage during the latter part of the period. The chart shows for the period, 1534-1588, a total of

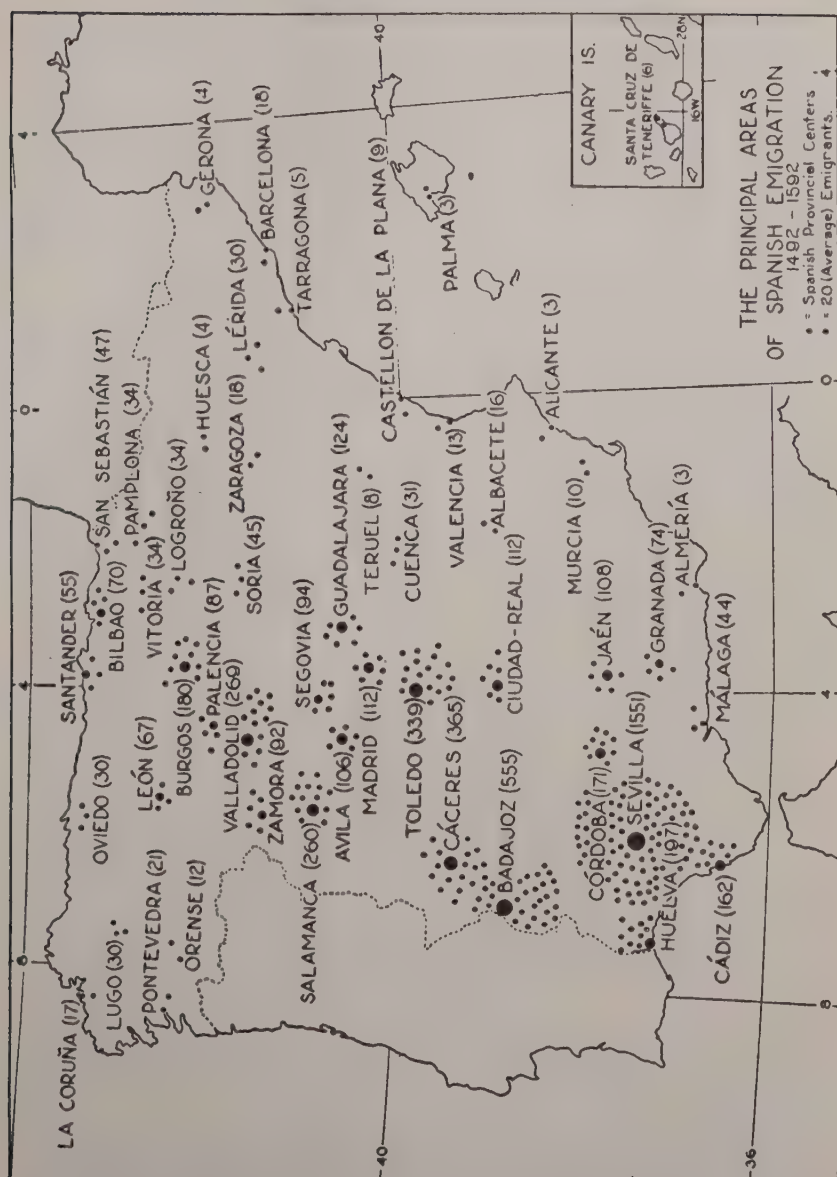
<sup>16</sup> These figures are based upon the *Catálogo de Pasajeros*, I (1509-1533) and upon the two volumes of "Pasajeros a Indias" (1534-1588) in the *Doc. Inéd. de Hispano-América*, VIII and XIII, upon which Henríquez Ureña based part of his computations.



PROVINCIAL ORIGINS OF 8,063 SELECTED SPANISH EMIGRANTS TO THE NEW WORLD, 1509-1588. (No figures for years 1518, 1520-1523, 1531, 1532, 1536-1539, 1541-1545, 1547, 1556, 1558.)

[illegible]





552, or 30 per cent for the northern provinces, and 1,038, or about 57 per cent for the southern provinces. This increase may indicate some basis for the theory of Andalusianism, owing to an increase of emigrants from that region.



The statistics of the chart can be taken only as partial or approximate, and not as entirely accurate. Although based upon the actual permissions, information given, and proofs and licenses granted, there is no indication that these people sailed to the new world. The ships' lists of the emigrant passengers, if available, would have been more accurate, probably, inasmuch as many decided not to sail after they had been given licenses.

Furthermore, these figures cannot be taken as representing the sum total of all those going to the new world. Although there were many Spanish laws requiring emigrants to register and to obtain licenses before embarkation, the fact remains that many did not obtain the required passports or licenses. Besides the figures of Henríquez Ureña which show about 13,000 emigrants, an addition of the numbers of those going in the great colonizing expeditions of the first hundred years gives a total far exceeding the above figures. Most of the large expeditions were not included in the passenger lists studied above.

The editors of the *Catálogo* and the books of *Pasajeros* may have missed or even ignored certain passenger lists, thus causing incomplete results to occur. Other passenger lists and records were probably destroyed, either by the ravages of time or through the hazards of moving the official data from one storage place to another. This is indicated by the large gaps in the chart, in which for a whole year or group of years not one emigrant is recorded. A glance at the sailing lists in the appendix of Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*, pp. 339-341, shows that the number of ships leaving for the Indies for the years unrecorded in the above tables increased steadily year by year. Some passengers must have gone to the Indies on these ships.

The chart, regardless of its shortcomings, has some value. Certain important trends and tendencies in the problem of emigration are revealed. For instance, it is clear that all of Spain's provinces sent emigrants to the new world; certain provinces seemed to send many more than did others; and the figures tend to check the results of former studies.

The figures of Henríquez Ureña were combined with those of the present writer's chart in an effort to arrive at a more accurate conclusion relative to those migrating to the new world.<sup>17</sup> The results show a total of 4,116, or 38.4 per cent, for the Spaniards of the North as compared to the 41.7 per cent found by Henríquez Ureña; for the southern Spaniards, the total was 4,726, or 44 per cent, as compared to the 42.5 per cent of Henríquez Ureña; the intermediate zone showed 693, or 6.4 per cent, as compared to the 6.7 per cent of Henríquez Ureña; while the lateral zone constituted 1,183, or 11 per cent, in comparison to the 9 per cent of Henríquez Ureña.

In consideration, therefore, of the percentages arrived at by Henríquez Ureña, and those of the present study, it would seem that the northern and the southern regions of Spain sent approximately the same numbers of emigrants, with some slight percentage in favor of the south.

The advantage of southern Spain depended mainly upon the large numbers from Seville. There is no reason to believe that Seville did not actually lead in numbers. There is an indication that many who signified they were from Seville were not natives of that province. In the license lists the words *vecino* (inhabitant) and *natural* (native) are commonly used. The following illustrations are indicative:<sup>18</sup>

2,926.—Gonzalo de Aguilera, inhabitant of Seville, son of Juan Aguilera and Francisca Tapia, natives of Alcalá de Henares.

2,949.—Diego de Chaves, inhabitant of Seville, son of Rodrigo de Chaves and Beatriz Hernández de Espinosa, inhabitants of Trujillo.

3,867.—Gonzalo Rodríguez, inhabitant of Seville, Galician, son of Roderigo Janes and Mencia Lorenzo.

Another factor which might take the advantage away from Seville is the large number of 2,312 from the provinces undetermined. In many cases, when a city or a place of origin was

<sup>17</sup> The statistics of the present writer were used in place of those which were based upon the *Catálogo* and the *Pasajeros* used in Henríquez Ureña's computation. Henríquez Ureña used only one of the volumes on the *Pasajeros* (VIII). The other materials used by Henríquez Ureña, based upon the names given by leading historians, Icaza and Thayer y Ojeda, were retained.

<sup>18</sup> *Catálogo de Pasajeros*, I, 325, 327, 423. In cases where the parents' places of origin were given, the father's origin was given as the place of origin of the emigrant, thus solving some of the differences of the Seville perplexity.

listed without the actual province, it was impossible to decide upon any one province. For instance, Alba, Villadiego, Villanueva, Pedrosa, and Hinojosa are only a few of the names of towns in more than one province. Seville, on the other hand, could be only the Seville of Andalusia. The differences in numbers between northern Spain and the southern regions might well have been more equalized had the undetermined origins been determined.

Rubio y Moreno, in explaining his statistical list in *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América* (VIII, 41), claims that in reality the advantage in favor of Andalusia in comparison with Castile and León is much greater than it seems. He gives as the reason the fact that many of the large numbers of emigrants from Castile were listed from the monasteries located there, although they were not born in that province. If these ecclesiastics had been listed according to their birthplaces, Castile, the area of the greatest number of religious houses, would not have had nearly so many emigrants listed in its favor.

On the basis of the chart, there seems to be no indication that Rubio's observations are entirely correct. In fact, most of the members of the ecclesiastical orders were listed as coming from provinces undetermined or unknown. Illustrations of this are:<sup>19</sup>

Méndez (Fr. Juan) with 50 *religiosos* and 5 servants. . . .

Gutiérrez (Fr. Diego) with 10 *religiosos* of his order. . . .

. . . Fr. Diego de Herrera and the 24 Augustinians whom he took.

. . . Fr. Antonino de Sayas, bishop of that diocese (Nicaragua), and 30 Franciscans whom that bishop took in his company.

A summary of the areas of emigration in Spain, then, would indicate that all parts of that nation were represented during the years 1492-1592. Emigration to the Indies was not more active in the regions of Catalonia, the Basque provinces, Asturias, Navarre, and the Canary Islands, nor much more so in the south in Andalusia than in other regions. Rather, it may be said that after the first two voyages of Columbus,

<sup>19</sup> *Doc. Inéd. para la Historia de Hispano-América*, VIII, 192, 193, 204, 205.



Spaniards came from all parts of Spain, especially the northern and southern zones, with actual percentages favoring southern Spain only to a slight degree.

We have decided in a general way upon the regions of Spain supplying the emigrant. There are other considerations to observe about these areas. A glance at the chart and the map brings attention to a distinct core of Spanish emigration, from which most of the emigrants came. This zone or core begins with the Basque provinces in the north and continues southward through León, Castile, Extremadura, and finally, Andalusia. The region outside of this zone of emigration, including the provinces of Galicia, Asturias, the eastern part of Viscaya, Navarra, Aragon, Catalonia, Murcia, Valencia, the eastern part of Castile, and the eastern part of Andalusia, seems to have sent very few emigrants in relation to the major emigrational zone.

On looking more closely at this noticeable zone of emigration, it is seen that, generally, as one gets farther and farther away from Seville, fewer and fewer emigrants are listed. Seville is seen to be the point of the greatest concentration of emigration, and for its size far exceeded any other equal area in Spain. This factor probably accounted for much of the idea that Andalusia far surpassed all other regions in sending emigrants to the new world.

This advantage for Seville, together with the comparatively large numbers from Badajoz, Huelva, Córdoba, Cádiz, Jaén, and Granada, all in a compact area in southern Spain, was not enough to overcome greatly the numbers of the larger area of Cáceres, Ciudad-Real, Toledo, Madrid, Avila, Guadalajara, Segovia, Salamanca, Zamora, Valladolid, Palencia, Burgos, and Bilbao in the more northern Spain.

The provinces listed in the above paragraph show very definitely their leadership during the whole period studied, 1509-1588. The chart shows that, during those years when the greatest numbers of emigrants are listed, Seville was always leading in the numbers sent. Badajoz usually came next, and was followed in various order by Cáceres, Toledo, Valladolid, Salamanca, Burgos, Córdoba, Huelva, Madrid, Cádiz, Avila, Ciudad-Real, and Guadalajara.

The reasons why emigration was more concentrated in the zone noted above are not hard to discern. Several factors contributed. In the first place, this was the area of the greatest density of population. Castile, Extremadura, and Andalusia, according to the census taken by Alonso de Quintanilla by order of the Catholic Kings, were the provinces of the greatest population during the early part of the sixteenth century. The large cities of these areas were also the most populous of Spain.<sup>20</sup> This lead in population, it is true, gradually declined, because of the incessant European wars, the general economic misery, and the later general decadence of Spain. Other regions of Spain, however, probably could not claim a greater density of population until the eighteenth century.

Another factor explaining why this region should send over more emigrants than any other area might be summed up under the heading, "Economic Distress". It is a well-known fact that Spain gradually declined economically during the sixteenth century. One reason for this was the expulsion of the stable and industrious Jews. Industry became more decadent, consequently, and thousands were thrown out of work. The methods used in agriculture by the Jews and the Moslems were also soon forgotten, a factor which left many at the mercy of a dry climate and a poor soil, especially in the south. Escape to the Indies seemed to be the only alternative.

Poor facilities for transportation and communication, arising out of a general economic decay, also made it difficult for those outside the zone of large cities to emigrate. There was undoubtedly a natural line of travel from one city to another from north to south, which made it easier to travel in this zone of emigration. In fact, the main medieval routes of trade and travel went from north to south along this general zone. Outside of the main route of travel, which even today forms one of the great arterials of Spain, travel must have been difficult. The moving of one's self, family, servants

<sup>20</sup> L. Martín Echeverría, *Geografía de España*, I, 102. This density of population was later to be surpassed by other provinces, among them the Basque provinces and Catalonia. Catalonia, during the sixteenth century, had a large population, but the people of that region were interested largely in the activity of the Mediterranean, and were better off economically than people in many other parts of Spain.

and possessions from one region to another was a real problem.

The influence of great men cannot be discounted in explaining the numbers from the zone of emigration. Among those who, by their prominence, influenced many to emigrate were Juan Ponce de León from Palencia, Vázquez de Coronado from Salamanca, Pedrarias Dávila and Diego Velázquez from Old Castile, Alonso de Ojeda, Francisco de Aguirre, Pedro de Heredia and Diego de Almagro from New Castile, Sebastián de Benalcázar and Pedro de Mendoza from Andalusia and those already mentioned from Extremadura.<sup>21</sup>

In considering the distinct parts of this zone of emigration, there are to be found sufficient reasons why these areas sent many. Seville, the greatest area of emigration, was the privileged port from which the ships departed for the Indies, and to which ships returned during the sixteenth century. It is true that other ports were gradually thrown open to the Indies traffic, but usually no great advantage was taken of the privileges.<sup>22</sup>

Seville, being the principal port, was consequently the scene of great activity. Merchants congregated there in large numbers; the *Casa de Contratación* there had its headquarters; people went to the Indies from this port and often came back to it later; and on all sides there was evidence of the marvels of the Indies. Unconsciously, perhaps, a spirit of Indian activity was created, which had its effects upon the surrounding regions and inhabitants. With such a scene of new world activity, it was only natural that thoughts should turn to the Indies, and as a result many from this region sought their fortunes across the seas. As one went farther and farther away from this scene of American activity, the effects were less felt, until, as the distant provinces were reached, little concern was evident.

Mining was also important in southern Spain, as it was in the new world. Those interested in mining undoubtedly felt the call to seek new areas in the Indies. There the possibility

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Málaga, Cartagena, La Coruña, Bayona de Galicia, Avilés, Laredo, Bilbao, San Sebastián, and Santander were among those privileged ports.



of fortunes was greater than in Spain, where the mines were owned by comparatively few. The Basque provinces in the north, the other great area of Spanish mines, were at the top of the zone of migration, and also sent many miners.

The seamen of Andalusia were attracted by much sailing activity. From Seville ships went to all parts of the new world carrying seamen who elected to stay in the Indies, where they could serve in the occupation which they had learned in the old world. This was one more factor in the emigration of many Basques, as well as of the natives of interior Spain.

It might be said that part of Castile and León were fairly distant from Seville, and yet they sent a relatively large number of emigrants. The density of population, the economic distress arising out of this density, the general decay of agriculture and industry, the natural route of travel from one large city to another, and the influence of leading new world figures born in these areas are reasons already mentioned for the heavy emigration from the region. Another factor explaining the activity there was undoubtedly the early passage of emigration laws favoring those districts. Since this area was also the scene of much court activity, especially in the cities of Toledo, Valladolid, Medina del Campo, and Madrid, much was heard, consequently, about the favorite topic of conversation at court, the richness of the Indies.

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## THE BIRTH OF THE MESTIZO IN NEW SPAIN

No colonizing nation of modern times has had, perhaps, a more interesting and significant history than Spain in the new world. Protestant commercial England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries built up a largely self-sufficing economic empire. Catholic medieval Spain created an empire inhabited by races of many colors. In the English colonies of North America, the Indians were brushed aside by land-hungry settlers who quickly took away their land and shot down their wild game. In the Spanish colonies the fate of the natives was far different. For the Spanish conquest of America, somewhat like the Norman conquest of England, had as its unique result the essential fusion of conqueror and conquered in the creation of a new society. It is estimated that, at the close of three centuries of Spanish rule, the total population in Spanish America was 16,910,000. Of these 7,530,000 were Indians; 5,328,000 were of mixed blood; 3,276,000 were white and 776,000 were Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously such a society did not come into existence full-grown like Athena from the head of Zeus. It certainly is not to be explained in terms of unrestrained economic exploitation and ruthless extermination of aboriginal inhabitants by colonizing whites. It was owing rather to complex religious, social, economic, political, and geographical factors which in Spanish America brought the Spaniards and Negroes into intimate contacts with the Indians, mitigated the asperities of that contact, and made the readjustments necessary to a new environment a relatively easy and natural process. To describe this process is not only to explain the origin of a new race of mixed blood and cast much light upon the history of modern Hispanic America. It is not only to write an important chapter in the history of those abiding phenomena which

<sup>1</sup> The figures are those of Alexander von Humboldt cited in Wilhelm Roscher, *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung* (Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1856), p. 165.

have occurred in more or less varied form wherever modern colonizing nations have come in contact with so-called "backward" races. It is, in its larger aspects, to tell a story which, in a world troubled by perplexing and thorny racial problems, should not be without much interest and some value. For the birth of the Mestizo was a most essential step in the creation of a society which, rejecting the doctrine of racial patriotism, bids fair with time to solve all racial questions as they were solved in southern Italy in the days of the Roman Empire—by the complete assimilation of cultures and amalgamation of bloods.

Illustrative of the manner in which racial fusion occurred to a greater or lesser degree throughout the Hispanic-American colonies is the manner in which it took place in New Spain. In 1803, the population of this colony was estimated as follows: 41 per cent or 2,500,000 were Indians of pure blood; 19.5 per cent or 1,200,000 were white; and 39 per cent or 2,400,000 were of mixed blood.<sup>2</sup> The process of racial fusion initiated during colonial days grew apace in the era of national independence. In 1930, the Indians of the Republic of Mexico had increased to 4,620,880 but formed only 28 per cent of the whole; whites totaled 2,444,466 or 14.8 per cent; and the number of those of mixed blood had risen to 9,040,590 to constitute 55 per cent of the entire population.<sup>3</sup> This social order and many of the major problems of modern Mexican life find their origin in the sixteenth century. In this century one is among the hills whence descend the rivulets which in succeeding centuries became the floods of high waters.

That miscegenation occurred on such a large scale in New Spain was owing in no small degree to a humanitarian spirit which found its roots in the tenets of the Catholic religion, the principles of Roman jurisprudence, the philosophy of natural rights, and the nationalistic pride in things Spanish which was developed to such an intensity by the struggles against the Moors and Jews in Spain.<sup>4</sup> This spirit which was partic-

<sup>2</sup> Alexandro de Humboldt, *Ensayo político de la Nueva España* (4 vols., Paris, 1882), I, 143, 224-225, 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1933, p. 1101.

<sup>4</sup> Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana* (2 vols., Madrid, 1736-1739), I, 43-65, 70-77, and *passim*; Francisco de Victoria, *De Indis et de Iure Belli*



ularly strong during the first century of Spanish colonization impelled Spain to look upon the natives as beings to be converted and assimilated to Spanish civilization spiritually, culturally, and racially.

Even more decisive perhaps in moulding Spanish-Indian relations were the social and economic factors which determined the nature of the association between native and colonist. The great majority of Spaniards did not come to the new world to convert the native or to better their own economic condition by manual labor. The early Spanish settlers looked to the natives to produce foodstuffs and to mine gold. They soon discovered, however, that a people who could satisfy their few wants with two roots from the forest and a bit of wild honey made unwilling workers. Hence the need for some system of enforced labor. Thus the colonists desired the incorporation of the natives into Spanish colonial life but on a definitely subordinate plane.<sup>5</sup> They were to be made the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Spanish settlers. Curiously enough, these economic needs of the colonist received a religious sanction when many colonial missionaries became convinced that their proselytizing efforts would prove futile unless the Indians were weaned from their primitive vices by profitable occupations and the influence of continuous contact with Spanish society.<sup>6</sup> But this was not

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*Relecciones* (Ernest Nys, ed., Washington, 1917), *passim*; Victor A. Belaunde, "Factors of the colonial Period in South America working toward a new Regime", in *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 144-153.

<sup>5</sup> Bishop Fuenleal to the King, July 10, 1532, in *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México* (2 vols., J. García Icazbalceta, ed., Mexico, 1858-1866), II, 165-189 (henceforth this collection will be cited as *Col. Doc. Méx.*); opinion of the Dominican Friar Domingo de Betanzos (n.d.), in *ibid.*, II, 190-197; petition of the lawyers of New Spain and Mexico City to the King, June, 1545, C. W. Hackett (ed.), *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773* (3 vols., Washington, 1923-1937), I, 124-150.

<sup>6</sup> Opinion of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, 1526, in *Col. Doc. Méx.*, I, 549-552; opinion of the Dominican Order of New Spain regarding repartimientos, May 5, 1544, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones españolas* (42 vols., Madrid, 1864-1889), VII, 532-542 (henceforth this collection will be cited as *Col. Doc. Inéd.*); opinion of the Franciscan Order concerning the New Laws, in *ibid.*, VII, 526-532; the Presbyter Gómez Maraver (later Bishop of

possible unless Spaniards made permanent settlements. And Spaniards would not settle in the Indies unless they were assured of an adequate labor supply to work the mines and to till the soil. It was this alliance of local interests and religious aims that, from the colonial point of view, made the assimilation of the natives to Spanish society an economic necessity as well as a humanitarian desire.<sup>7</sup>

Brought into intimate contact by religious zeal and economic interest, racial fusion of Spaniards and Indians was to a certain extent inevitable. There were many circumstances, however, which hastened the process and determined the manner in which it took place. First, the number of Spanish women in the colony during the early days of settlement was exceedingly small. The long and dangerous sea voyage together with the rigors of frontier life provided few inducements for the emigration of women. Then, too, the Spanish Crown, unlike the English Government a century later, absolutely prohibited the emigration of unmarried women to the Indies unless they were the daughters or servants of migrating families.<sup>8</sup> Spain did strive, however, to promote the emigration of Spanish families and endeavored to prevent married Spaniards from going to the new world without their wives. By law, no married man was permitted to sail from Spain without his wife except by special permission of the crown.<sup>9</sup> Even then the lady concerned was given the right to say whether she would go or remain.<sup>10</sup> When this prohibition proved ineffective, laws were enacted compelling all Spaniards in the Indies with wives in Spain to return to live with their

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New Galicia) to Charles V, June 1, 1544, in *ibid.*, VII, 199-212; Friar Toribio de Motolinía to Charles V, January 2, 1555, in *ibid.*, VII, 254-287; the Church Council of Mexico to the Emperor, November 1, 1555, in *ibid.*, III, 520-530.

<sup>7</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 77, 224-228.

<sup>8</sup> C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), pp. 101-102, n.1.

<sup>9</sup> The Queen to the Royal Officials of the *Casa de Contratación*, July 16, 1550, in Vasco de Puga, *Provisiones, Cédulas, Instrucciones de su Majestad, Ordenanzas de Difuntos y Audiencia para la buena Expedición de los Negocios y Administración de Justicia y Governación de esta Nueva España y para el buen Tratamiento de los Indios desde el año de 1525 hasta este de 1563* (2 vols., written 1563; Mexico, 1878), II, 89-91 (henceforth this collection will be cited as Puga, *Cedulario*).

<sup>10</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, II, 298.

mates or post bond that they would send for them within two years.<sup>11</sup> This law, too, was either deliberately ignored or evaded. Many colonists posted their bonds and then left the jurisdiction of the audiencia in which it had been given.<sup>12</sup> Others with wealth and influence had little difficulty in securing exemption. Numerous attempts were made to secure the more efficient enforcement of royal will.<sup>13</sup> They were largely unsuccessful, for the bishop of Mexico reported that in his bishopric alone there were some 500 married Spaniards who were living without their wives.<sup>14</sup>

Although the crown failed to populate the colonies with Spanish families, it did succeed in preventing the emigration of its unmarried daughters. Few of the 300,000 Spaniards who left Spain to make their home in New Spain during the three centuries of the colonial era were women.<sup>15</sup> Humboldt cited the fact that, in 1803, the European-born Spanish men in Mexico City outnumbered the European-born Spanish women ten to one as good evidence that few Spanish women came to the colony during colonial days.<sup>16</sup> And it was owing to this "lack of marriageable women in the beginning", the viceroy, the marquis of Montes Claros, declared in 1607 that "the Mestizo and Mulattoes who are descendants of the conquerors are innumerable. . .".<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The Queen to the Audiencia of New Spain, September 4, 1549, in Puga, *Cedulario*, II, 40-43; the King to the Audiencia of New Spain, October 9, 1549, in *ibid.*, II, 44-45.

<sup>12</sup> The King to the Audiencia of New Spain, July 7, 1551 and June 5, 1559, in *ibid.*, II, 123-125, 326-328.

<sup>13</sup> The Princess to the Audiencia of New Spain, June 5, 1549, in *ibid.*, II, 326-328; the King to the royal justices of the Indies and the *Casa de Contratación*, July 7, 1551, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIX, 116-125; the King to the Audiencias and Royal Officials in the Indies, June 12, 1571, in *ibid.*, XIX, 212-215.

<sup>14</sup> The Bishop of Mexico to the Viceroy and Audiencia of New Spain, (n.d. but this report requested July 7, 1551, in Puga, *Cedulario*, II, 123-125), *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Ibero-América* (13 vols., Madrid, 1927-1928), XIII, 287 (henceforth this collection will be cited as *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amer.*).

<sup>15</sup> Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York, 1928), p. 69 and references there.

<sup>16</sup> Humboldt, *op. cit.*, I, 270.

<sup>17</sup> The Marquis of Montes Claros to the King, August 2, 1607, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España* (112 vols., Madrid, 1842-1895), XXVI, 162-176 (henceforth this collection will be cited as *Col. Doc. España*).



The Spanish Crown, influenced by the example of the Portuguese in the east, sought in the opening years of the sixteenth century to protect the native women and prevent illicit relationships between Spaniards and Indians by revoking its earlier prohibition against mixed unions and actively encouraging the free intermarriage of the two races. This step was taken to promote the conversion of many natives to Christianity and Castilian ways of living and as a means of repopulating the islands where the aborigines had all but disappeared under the first impact with the Spanish colonists.<sup>18</sup> In its policy of promoting racial intermarriage, the Spanish Government received the active support of the Church and the religious orders which were trying strenuously to teach the Indians the virtues of marriage and monogamy. The Franciscan and Dominican religious orders, indeed, wished to provide special inducements to Spaniards to marry Indian as well as Spanish women by giving such persons preference in a general and permanent distribution of lands and natives in New Spain.<sup>19</sup>

Spanish Crown and Spanish Church were determined to leave no stone unturned which might induce the colonists to marry and settle down as permanent residents in the new world. Thus, the crown, supported by the great majority of colonial churchmen, went far to meet the demand of the pioneer settlers for economic security and social stability by ceasing its efforts to abolish the *encomienda* and declaring in 1536 that such estates might be inherited by female as well as male heirs for two and three generations.<sup>20</sup> And in 1539,

<sup>18</sup> Ferdinand and Isabella to Ovando, September 16, 1501 and March 29, 1503, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XXXI, 13-25, 156-174; Ferdinand to Diego Colón and the Royal Officials in the Indies, October 19, 1514, and February 5, 1515; Cardinal Cisneros to the Hieronymite Fathers, 1516, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones españolas de Ultramar*, (segunda serie, 17 vols., Madrid, 1885-1925), IX, 22-23, 52-53, 53-74 (henceforth this collection will be cited as *Col. Doc. Ultramar*); Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 397.

<sup>19</sup> Opinion of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders of New Spain, 1526, and Friar Martín de Valencia to the King, September 1, 1526, in *Col. Doc. Méx.*, II, 155-157, 549-552.

<sup>20</sup> The Queen to Mendoza, May 26, 1536, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, X, 322-329; Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 225-226, 316-317, 330.

a royal decree provided that henceforth encomiendas should be given only to married men. All single men or women holding such grants were required to wed within a certain time or forfeit their estate.<sup>21</sup> In like manner, the possession of a wife and family became an essential qualification for the office of corregidor and other important posts in the local government.<sup>22</sup>

This official policy of encouraging matrimony was not without its results. Mixed unions became at quite an early date almost as numerous as Spanish men and women. In 1534, the Spanish town of La Puebla de los Angeles had a male population of eighty conquerors and vecinos. Of these thirty-eight had Castilian wives; twenty were married to Indian women; four had wives in Castile and eighteen were unmarried.<sup>23</sup> Much later in the sixteenth century the population of the City of Antequera numbered some three hundred vecinos. While two hundred of these were married to Spanish women, there were about one hundred who had Mestizo or Mulatto wives.<sup>24</sup>

That encomiendas and royal offices were too difficult to obtain and too profitable to the colonists to be lost for the want of a mate is only too evident. Giraldo Díaz de Alpuche, in the description of his encomienda submitted to the crown in 1573 cast much light upon racial conditions in New Spain when he declared that

some thirty years ago there was sent to this province royal ordinances decreeing that every encomendero of Indians should be married. As this land had only recently been conquered there were few women. Some married those who were here; others took Mestiza wives. Many could not find a wife and asked for an extension of time so that they would not lose the Indians who had been granted to them in the

<sup>21</sup> Royal Instructions to Luis de Velasco, April 16, 1550, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XXIII, 520-547 (Velasco was referred to the *cédula* of 1539 and enjoined to enforce it rigorously); Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 326-346.

<sup>22</sup> The Prince to Velasco, September 3, 1552, in Puga, *Cedulario*, II, 185-186; Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, N. C., 1927), p. 86, n. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Report of La Puebla de los Angeles, 1534, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, XIII, 345-351.

<sup>24</sup> *Relación de los Obispos de Tlaxcala, Michoacan, Oaxaca, y otros Lugares en el Siglo XVI* (L. García Pimentel, ed., Mexico, 1904), pp. 69, 78.

name of the king. And I, to fulfil the said decree, married Doña Isabel, the niece of Montezuma, the great lord of Mexico.<sup>25</sup>

This Indian wife had borne Díaz de Alpuche two daughters and one son. All three had married. One daughter was a widow with three children, two boys and a girl. The other daughter, whose husband was still living at the time, had two children, a boy and a girl. The son's marriage had been blessed with two offspring. Thus ten Mestizos had resulted in two generations from one mixed marriage.

The various lists of encomiendas in New Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century reveal that the case of Díaz de Alpuche was the case of many an encomendero in the colony. For instance, Doña Isabel, daughter of the Aztec Emperor, Montezuma, was taken to wife by Alonso de Gallego. Of this marriage was born a son, Juan de Andrada. Upon his father's death this Mestizo fell heir to the family estate while his mother took a second Spanish husband, Juan Cano. Of this second union was born a Mestizo son, Gonzalo Cano, who likewise became the possessor of an encomienda when his father died. Another daughter of Montezuma, Doña Leonor, was married to Christobal de Valderrama. When Valderrama died, his estate passed with the hand of his Mestiza daughter to Diego Arias de Sotelo. The famed mistress of Cortes, Doña Marina, after bearing him a son, was married to a Spanish captain, Juan Xaramillo. The result of this marriage was a daughter, Doña María, who inherited as her father's encomienda half of the province of Xilotepeque. Doña María married Don Luis de Quesada and in due time their Mestizo son, Don Pedro de Quesada, came into possession of this princely estate.<sup>26</sup> Examples of this kind could be multiplied many times. And not the least significant aspect of the mixed unions just cited is the fact that in no case is the race of these men and women mentioned. The only clue to the race from whence they came is found in their given names. In English America, the romance of John Smith and Pocahontas grew into a tale to delight the hearts of American school girls. In New Spain,

<sup>25</sup> Report of Giraldo Díaz de Alpuche, February 18, 1579, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, XIII, 221-223.

<sup>26</sup> Pimentel, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-188.



racial intermarriage became too common to elicit special comment.

Not only did Spanish colonists take native and Mestiza wives to secure offices and estates but few women of any race who possessed any property were without suitors for their hands. For example, the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, during his administration, had established a home for foundling Mestizas who by that time had become quite numerous "in order that because of their poverty and weakness they do not offend God. . .".<sup>27</sup> Here these half-caste girls were reared in the faith and educated in Castilian ways. And it was reported to the crown that "many Spaniards, officials and other persons because they see them so well taught and educated in the ways of virtue ask for their hands in marriage. . .".<sup>28</sup> The Spanish colonists may well have been interested in securing such model wives. But their matrimonial desires were in no wise diminished by the fact that it had become a practice for the viceroys to provide these Mestizas with dowries in the form of money from the royal treasury, *corregimientos*, or other offices.<sup>29</sup> That the number of these marriages was far from being a negligible quantity is attested by the fact that Francisco Terrazas in listing the great drains on the revenues of the colony declared then the great number of orphan Mestizas whom we raise and marry to Spaniards so that they will not be lost among the Indians take their good share. . . .<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, many marriages between Spaniards and maidens of Castilian birth were prevented by the circumstance that the young ladies had no dowries to offer a prospective husband. Numerous were the complaints of the colonists during these years "that they have at home marriageable daughters who are in want because they have nothing with

<sup>27</sup> Charles V to the Audiencia of New Spain, October 5, 1533, in Puga *Cedulario*, I, 316-317; Mendoza to Velasco, 1550, in D. I. I., VI, 484-515; the Brothers of Charity to the King, February 1, 1558, in D. I. A., I, 223-224.

<sup>28</sup> The Prince to Luis de Velasco, December 18, 1552, in Puga, *Cedulario*, II, 200-201.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 200-201.

<sup>30</sup> Francisco Terrazas to Charles V, June 1, 1544, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, I, 113-123.

which to marry".<sup>31</sup> So serious a problem was this for many Spanish families that a considerable number of Spanish girls were placed in the home for Mestizas "for better instruction . . . until the time of marriage".<sup>32</sup> At this time, they were, like the Mestizas, given dowries by the local government.

But Spain was not unmindful of the plight of its colonial daughters. Indeed, it was precisely because the crown desired to facilitate their marriage by assuring them suitable dowries that the eldest daughter, and failing such, the widow, was permitted in the absence of legitimate male heirs to inherit the encomienda of a deceased encomendero. Single female heirs were required to marry within one year after inheriting such an estate or, if they were minors, within a year after attaining their legal age. Although widows possessing encomiendas were not compelled to wed again, they were urged to do so and thus carry out the original intention of the crown.<sup>33</sup> In 1552, the home government went still further and decreed that the eldest son or daughter who had fallen heir to the encomienda of the father should support the other members of the family. Especially should care be taken of the mother and sisters until such time as they might be safely and securely married.<sup>34</sup> To many orphans and daughters of poverty-stricken conquerors government pensions were granted. Thus the two orphan daughters of Pedro Abarca, Ana and Beatriz Pérez de Abarca, were given fifty pesos annual pension until they reached the age of marriage. At that time they were provided with certificates declaring them eligible as daughters of a conqueror to receive annual pensions of 500 to 600 pesos. Wedding bells promptly pealed for both young ladies. To the chagrin of all concerned, however, a pension of only

<sup>31</sup> Report of the villages of Nabalón and Taheabo and the Island of Cozumel, March 23, 1579; report of the village of Temul, February 19, 1579, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, XIII, 50-60, 119-126; Jerónimo López to the King, February 6, 1541, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, I, 99-103.

<sup>32</sup> The Brothers of Charity to the King, February 1, 1558, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, I, 223-224; the Prince to Luis de Velasco, December 18, 1552, in Puga, *Cedulario*, II, 200-201.

<sup>33</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, 306, 316-317, 346-347.

<sup>34</sup> The Prince to the Audiencia of New Spain, August 28, 1552, in Puga, *Cedulario*, II, 183-184.

150 pesos was given to each bride and resort was immediately had to suit at law.<sup>35</sup>

Such governmental aid doubtless enabled many a Spanish maid to wed but the problem was by no means solved. The Franciscan friar, Hierónimo de Mendieta, was protesting bitterly in 1562 against the immorality and social disorders caused by the poverty which prevented some ten to eleven thousand "maiden daughters of Spaniards" in Mexico from marrying for want of dowries.<sup>36</sup> He emphatically declared that there was as great a need for houses for Spanish girls as for foundling Mestizas and he added his voice to the many who were urging the strict and immediate prohibition of the continued immigration of poor people from Spain which was only intensifying this social problem. While the number given by the friar may be greatly exaggerated and may include as qualified members of what he called "the Spanish nation" all maidens not of pure Indian blood, there can be little doubt that by the second half of the sixteenth century there was a large number of women of Spanish blood in the colony whose marriage to men of their own race was prevented by lack of property and income. Indeed, as late as 1607, many Spanish women were being married with no more dowry or property than the prospects of a successful lawsuit involving their claims as alleged descendants of the conquerors and pioneer settlers.<sup>37</sup>

Thus too much emphasis must not be placed upon the lack of Spanish women in New Spain as a major factor advancing the fusion of whites and natives. For there is little evidence to indicate that the fewness of Spanish women so influential in initiating the process of miscegenation lasted much beyond the first few decades of the sixteenth century. This condition, indeed, is one which both the viceroy, the marquis of Montes

<sup>35</sup> Legal brief of Luis Mexía and Gonzalo de León, in behalf of their wives, Ana and Beatriz Pérez de Abarea, 1558, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, I, 226-228.

<sup>36</sup> Friar Hierónimo de Mendieta to Friar Francisco de Bustamente, 1562, in *Nuevo Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México* (5 vols., J. García Icazbalceta, ed., Mexico, 1886-1892), I, 31 (henceforth this collection will be cited as *Nueva Col. Méx.*).

<sup>37</sup> The Marquis of Montes Claros to the King, August 2, 1607, in *Col. Doc. España*, XXVI, 162-176.



Claros, and the historian, Juan de Torquemada, writing in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, describe as having existed "in the beginning" of the period of conquest and settlement.<sup>38</sup> That by this time there was probably no great scarcity of Spanish women, especially those born in the colony, is indicated by the fact that in direct contrast to earlier practice "few Spaniards of honor" now took native wives.<sup>39</sup> And in 1803, Humboldt found that while Spanish men of European birth in Mexico City outnumbered the women in the proportion of 100 to 10, the colonial-born women of Spanish blood outnumbered the men 136 to 100. In the cities of Querétaro and Valladolid the ratio was 133 to 100.<sup>40</sup>

While the intermarriage of whites and Indians during the years under review was promoted and widespread, legal alliances between Spaniards and Negroes were neither encouraged nor frequent. Unions between Negroes and Indian women, were, however, quite numerous. The importation of Negro slaves was owing in no small degree to the desire of crown, humanitarian, and colonist alike to shift the burden of enforced labor from the backs of the natives to the stronger backs of the African blacks. Few of the Negroes brought into the colony during the early period were women. Racial fusion of Negroes and Indians like that of whites and natives was, to a great extent, inevitable. According to Humboldt, however, the blacks found great favor with the native women chiefly for psychological reasons. The Mexican Indian was serious, melancholy, and somber. Even strong drink failed to enliven his temperament. The African Negro was vivacious and cheerful. "This contrast", he says, "causes the Indian women to prefer Negroes, not only to the men of their own caste, but even to the Europeans".<sup>41</sup>

Whatever may have been the basis for the preference of Indian women for Negro men, it existed and played an important part in advancing racial intermixture in New Spain. The viceroy, Martín Enríquez, wrote Philip II in 1574 that

<sup>38</sup> The Marquis of Montes Claros to the King, August 2, 1607, in *Col. Doc. España*, XXVI, 162-176; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana* (3 vols., 1723), III, 301.

<sup>39</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 218.

<sup>40</sup> Humboldt, *op. cit.*, I, 270.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 178.

The Indian women are very weak people and are easily led astray by the Negroes whom they prefer in marriage to the Indian men.<sup>42</sup>

Negro men, however, had a more tangible, if not more practical, reason for desiring an Indian wife. By the laws of the colony the child of a Negro slave and a free woman was, like its mother, a free person. So numerous became the offspring of such marriages that the colonists, who were in constant fear of an uprising of the Negro population, were thoroughly alarmed. Enríquez pressed King Philip to have the pope prohibit the intermarriage of Negroes and Indian or Mulatto women or at least to issue an ordinance declaring that the child of a Negro slave by an Indian or Mulatto woman should be the property of the owner of the Negro.<sup>43</sup> Although the Spanish Crown was apparently unwilling to adopt such extreme measures, it did order that Negroes be encouraged to marry members of their own race because it believed the offspring of unions between Negroes and Indians inherited the vices but not the virtues of the parent stock.<sup>44</sup>

That racial intermarriage was an important factor in producing a race of mixed blood there can be little doubt. By far the greater number of half-castes in New Spain, however, were of illegitimate birth. As early as 1533, the offspring of the illegal unions which marked the paths of the Spanish conquerors and pioneer settlers had become so numerous that the government established in Mexico City a home for Mestizo boys and another for Mestiza girls.<sup>45</sup> Concubinage early became and remained a widespread and common practice. Bishop Juan de Zumárraga wrote Charles V in 1529 that

many of those who have Indians have taken from the chiefs of their villages their daughters, sisters, nieces, and wives under the pretext of taking them to their homes as servants but in reality for concubines. . . .<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Martín Enríquez to Philip II, January 9, 1574, in *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877), pp. 297-304.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 297-304.

<sup>44</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 217, 219.

<sup>45</sup> Charles V to the Audiencia of New Spain, October 5, 1533, in Puga, *Cedulario*, I, 316-317.

<sup>46</sup> Zumárraga to the King, August 27, 1529, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIII, 104-179.

This seizure and wronging of their women by Spanish colonists was, indeed, one of the most common and bitter complaints of the natives. It was undoubtedly one of the main causes of the bloody rebellion of the encomienda Indians in Yucatán in 1546.<sup>47</sup> So incensed were the natives that they set out to kill all the Spanish settlers and all Indian women who had served them in any capacity. Among the latter were several hundred women who had served the Spaniards as domestic servants.

The Spaniards were dependent upon Indian labor to till the fields and to work the mines. They were, likewise, dependent upon Indian labor to knead bread and to take care of other household duties. Even monasteries found it necessary to call upon Indian women to bake the bread to feed the Indian children within their walls.<sup>48</sup> As a result Spaniards, Negroes, Mulattoes, and Mestizos mingled together, often in one household. This must in itself have presented an unique spectacle. Its influence in promoting racial fusion is only too apparent. Thus, for example, the testament of the pioneer settler, Diego de Ocaña, contained the following provision regarding an Indian woman in his household:

Item: I say that I once had relations with the said Antonica, my servant, who bore a child Alosico. But she was ill-watched for she also had relations with an Indian of my household. However, judging by the color of the child, everyone declares that he seems to be the son of a Christian. It seems so to me, for it may be that he is my son; and since in case of doubt it is better to acknowledge him than to ignore him, I command my sons to bring him up, have him indoctrinated, and so do something good for him, for I believe that he is a son of mine, and not of an Indian.<sup>49</sup>

The home government made efforts to eliminate such evils. It passed ordinances prohibiting the personal services by which the colonists impressed the natives into household service. Little change was effected. For example, in Yucatán,

<sup>47</sup> Lorenzo de Bienvenido to Prince Philip, February 10, 1548, in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 70-82.

<sup>48</sup> The Queen to the Audiencia of New Spain, August 10, 1529, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, IX, 423-424.

<sup>49</sup> Herbert I. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man 1492-1848* (New York, 1929), pp. 111-112 and references there.



the need for domestic servants was so great that Licentiate Francisco de Loaysa, one-time chief magistrate of this region, permitted each encomendero to select a certain number of Indians to knead bread in the homes of the Spanish settlers. Such persons were paid wages and changed from month to month. The *alcalde mayor*, Diego Quixada, disapproved of this arrangement

because aside from being personal service there come many women without their husbands and maidens who do not use their persons well on the roads or in the houses of the citizens which contain Spaniards, Negroes, and Mestizos with whom they commit many sins. . . .<sup>50</sup>

Royal decrees were issued prohibiting involuntary service even for hire. But this practice became widespread throughout the Spanish colonies. Many Indians, moreover, were only too eager to enter the Spanish households to escape the payment of tribute and personal services which were exacted of them in their tribal villages. Thus there grew up in the vicinity of many Spanish towns colonies of native squatters who had deserted their tribal surroundings to sell their services as domestics and day laborers to the Spanish residents.<sup>51</sup>

In yet another way the tributes and personal services required of the natives promoted racial intermixture. During the early years of the sixteenth century no tribute was exacted of free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Mestizos. Neither were they required to work like the Indians. In an effort to place the natives more on a basis of equality with the other elements of the population, tribute was imposed upon such persons and royal officials were ordered to sentence all vagabonds to serve in the mines or to do other labor. But such laws were for the most part a dead letter and "from these abuses", declared Solórzano,

it results that many Indian women leave their Indian husbands and scorn and desert the children they have had of them because they are subject to tribute and personal services. They desire, love, and prefer the children they have out of wedlock of Spanish men and even

<sup>50</sup> Diego Quixada to the King, October 6, 1561, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, XIII, 244-263.

<sup>51</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 67-72.

Negroes because such children are free and exempt from such obligations. . . .<sup>52</sup>

Significant as were these currents of racial fusion it was the economic and social maladjustment of Spanish colonial life which gave rise to vagabondage that swelled them to flood tide. No doubt many of the Spaniards who lived among the Indians were so domiciled of their own free will. No country in Europe was more noted for its beggars and vagabonds than sixteenth-century Spain. And there is little evidence that the social habits of the Spaniards who came to New Spain differed from those of their fellow countrymen. Bishop Zumárraga in 1529 informed the home government that

as these Indians are so submissive, it is an old custom of theirs to give food to the Spaniards who come to their village and to the Indian men and women whom they bring with them as long as they wish to stay. For this reason, there are many vagabonds with nothing to do who go from village to village with two or even three Indian mistresses and as many Indian men who serve them. These persons who thus wander about are principally the ones who do violence and commit robberies in the native villages.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand, vagabondage, oppression of the natives, and cattle-stealing so prevalent during these years were, like poaching in eighteenth-century England, methods by which men sought to obtain a living which they could not secure by other means.<sup>54</sup>

The economic dependence of the Spanish colonists upon the natives which, during the early years gave rise to the *encomienda*, was made a constant feature of colonial life by a commercial policy which hamstrung colonial commerce and industry chiefly in the interests of a few Sevillian merchants. The Spanish system of annual fleets under convoy; the limita-

<sup>52</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, I, 219; 87. When in 1792 Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa visited Peru, they found that it was precisely this exemption of the children of Indian mothers by Spanish fathers from the payment of tribute that was a most potent factor explaining the rapid increase of the Mestizos and the concomitant decrease of the numbers of the native population. Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa, *Noticias Secretas de América* (London, 1826), pp. 291-293.

<sup>53</sup> Bishop Zumárraga to the Emperor, August 27, 1529, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIII, 104-179.

<sup>54</sup> Martín Cortés to Philip II, October 10, 1563, in *ibid.*, IV, 440-462.

tion of trade and commerce to a few ports in the colonies and to Seville and Cádiz in Spain; the prohibition of strict supervision of intercolonial and oriental trade paralyzed colonial trade and industry and made the colony almost entirely dependent upon European manufactured goods. Spain's inability to control the seas coupled with a rapidly rising price level accelerated by the flood of precious metals from America curtailed the amount and raised the prices of these commodities. The continual export of gold and silver bullion by the crown and Spanish merchants; the unfavorable balance of trade with the Philippines as well as with Spain; the numerous exploring expeditions fitted out in the colony; the difference in the value of money coined in New Spain and the mother country which caused the former to be rapidly withdrawn from circulation; and the inability of the colony to offset this lack of specie by the more modern business devices of paper money or credit deprived New Spain of the capital sorely needed for the development of its own resources.<sup>55</sup> The absence of good harbors along the eastern coast and the necessity of using the particularly dangerous and unhealthy port of Vera Cruz especially handicapped trade and made the goods imported from Spain much less in quantity and much higher in price than those in the other colonies.<sup>56</sup> The lack of navigable rivers and an adequate system of highways increased the cost of those goods which trickled through Mexico City to the internal provinces still more.<sup>57</sup> Many parts of the colony, indeed, were unable to obtain goods at any price. The almost universal cry that "the cost of merchandise is greatly

<sup>55</sup> Francisco Terrazas to Charles V, June 1, 1544, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, I, 113-123; Diego Ramírez to Sandoval, October 12, 1547, in *ibid.*, I, 161-166; Licentiate Juan de Altamirano to the King, March 12, 1553, in *ibid.*, I, 213-221; Francisco Morales to Philip II, May 20 and May 23, 1563, in *ibid.*, I, 369-375, 389-394; Pedro Ledesma to Philip II, May 22, 1563, in *ibid.*, I, 377-385; Dr. Pedro de Santander to the King, July 15, 1557, in *Col. Doc. España*, XXVI, 340-365, Haring, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>56</sup> The Church Council of Mexico to the King, November 1, 1555, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, III, 520-530; Juan de Mansilla to the King, May 24, 1562, in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 156-158; Martín Enríquez to the King, April 28, 1572, in *ibid.*, pp. 280-289; Humboldt, *op. cit.*, I, 88-94.

<sup>57</sup> Juan de Zarate, Bishop of Oaxaca, to the King, May 30, 1544, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, VII, 542-552; the Prince to Luis de Velasco, January 18, 1552, in Puga, *Cedulario*, II, 146.



increasing and the land is suffering dire want from the scarcity and high price of goods" was the inevitable result of Spanish commercial policy which together with other factors prevented that diversification of colonial economic life which would in coming true have provided the colony better opportunities for supporting its Spanish population.<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile, the Spanish population of New Spain was increasing both by birth and immigration. The larger the family, the more effective was the argument of the colonist that both need and merit commended him to special consideration in the dispensing of encomiendas and royal offices. When Jerónimo López petitioned the king in 1543 for a better grant he took great care to emphasize the fact that he had a wife and eight unmarried daughters.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, those who emigrated from Spain were few in numbers. Spain's conviction that the safety of the nation and the souls of its subjects lay in maintaining unity of religious belief and its determination to secure to itself the economic benefits of its colonies led it to prohibit the emigration to the Indies of foreigners, Portuguese, Jews, Moors, unfrocked monks and nuns, and all those convicted of heresy by the Holy Inquisition. Its desire, likewise, to correct, as far as possible, the evil results of the conquest impelled Spain to refuse emigration permits to those Spaniards whom it suspected of being "enemies of work" and attracted to the Indies by the lure of easy wealth, government jobs, and native women. Although such prohibitions were often more honored in the breach than in the observance, they were effective in curtailing the number of Europeans who might otherwise have come to the Spanish colo-

<sup>58</sup> The Church Council of Mexico to the King, November 1, 1555, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, III, 520-530; report of the village of Temul, February 19, 1579, report of the villages of Nabalón and Taheabo and the island of Cozumel, March 23, 1579, report of the villages of Tenum and Temozon, March 12, 1579, report of the City of Valladolid, April 8, 1579, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIII, 3-40, 50-60, 119-126, 130-134; report of the village of Mutul, February 20, 1581, report of the village of Tecal, February 20, 1581, report of the City of Mérida, February 18, 1579, in *ibid.*, XI, 87, 184-185, 69-71; Luis de Velasco to the Count of Monterey, November 28, 1604, in *ibid.*, IV, 406-439.

<sup>59</sup> Jerónimo López to Charles V, January 20, 1543, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, I, 110-112.

nies.<sup>60</sup> It is estimated on good authority that, in the sixteenth century, the entire emigration from Spain to America did not exceed 1,000 to 1,500 yearly.<sup>61</sup> The number of those who came to New Spain is uncertain. The first census report of New Spain which is at best only a rough estimate shows that the Spanish population about 1560 was scarcely more than 20,000. Eight thousand of those resided in Mexico City.<sup>62</sup> By 1574, it was estimated that some 15,000 Spaniards now lived in the capital.<sup>63</sup>

This increase seems small enough but to contemporaries it was appalling. The colony was not yet able to support its original population in comfort. In 1565, Martín Cortés wrote Philip II that

the Spaniards here in this land are multiplying fast and every year a great number come from Spain. As no one applies himself to work and the price of foodstuffs is greatly increasing there are numerous vagabonds. The viceroy himself told me that every morning in Mexico there arise eight hundred men who have nowhere to eat. They do not try to remedy this by having the Spaniards work or by punishing the vagabonds and thus there are many robberies in this land, especially livestock, so that no one is the master of his property. And what is happening now is nothing compared to what will happen in the future because, in addition to the great number of Spaniards, there are so many Mestizos and Mulattoes that they cover the land and these persons are naturally born with evil tendencies and they do the greatest harm to the natives.<sup>64</sup>

To make matters worse, royal officials, during the administrations of the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, and his successor, Luis de Velasco, were particularly active in reducing the tributes in kind paid by the natives or commuting them into money payments and abolishing the personal services by which the natives were required to deliver foodstuffs to the

<sup>60</sup> Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y Descripción universal de las Indias* (Madrid, 1894, pp. 36-37).

<sup>61</sup> A. G. Keller, *Colonization: a Study in the Founding of New Societies* (Boston, 1908), p. 213.

<sup>62</sup> "Relaciones Geográficas de Indias" (German Latorre, ed.), *Boletín del Centro Estudios Americanistas*, Seville, 1913-, VII-VIII, 44-66.

<sup>63</sup> Juan López, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-200.

<sup>64</sup> Martín Cortés to Philip II, October 10, 1563, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, IV, 440-462.

Spanish towns. Such activities seriously reduced the food supply of the colonists and added to the burdens created by the Seville Monopoly and the rapid rise in the level of commodity prices which was taking place in New Spain as well as in the mother country.<sup>65</sup> The effect of these conditions upon Spanish-Indian relations can scarcely be exaggerated. The screw, which an increasing price level and an increasing population, together with a shortage of foodstuffs and European goods, turned on the natives explains much that, heretofore, has been attributed simply to the wilful cruelty of the Spanish settlers. Thus, for example, the Franciscan friar, Motolinía, wrote the emperor, Charles V, in 1555 that

Throughout the land prices are high and there is a scarcity of foodstuffs which used to be plentiful and cheap. And although the people were poor they had something to eat. Now the Spaniards are poor and indebted and there are many idle people eager to seize the least opportunity in the world to rob the natives because they say the Indians are rich and the Spaniards are poor and dying of hunger. The Spaniards who have anything are trying to make their fortune and return to Castile in the ships that are sailing from here. Royal officials as well as merchants and rich men are going away laden with gold and silver and the poor remain in want.<sup>66</sup>

It is undoubtedly true that colonists who scorned manual labor and haughtily informed the king that they had not crossed the sea to dig and plough were, in no small degree, responsible for their own plight. But it is likewise true that the maladjustment of colonial economic life prevented New Spain from maintaining its non-native population and caused many to seek an escape from the pressure of economic forces by going native. In 1557, Dr. Santander, royal veedor, estimated the number of those without visible means of support at 4,000.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Diego Ramírez to the King, January 22, 1552, in *Col. Doc. Ibero-Amér.*, I, 184-192; Licentiate Juan de Altamirano to the King, March 12, 1553, in *ibid.*, I, 213-221; Affidavits of the valuations made in the villages of Culhuacan, Mexicalcingo and Ochilobusco, 1552, in *ibid.*, I, 167-184; Luis de Velasco to the Emperor, May 4, 1553, in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 263-269; Dr. Pedro de Santander to the King, July 15, 1557, in *D. I. E.*, XXVI, 340-365.

<sup>66</sup> Friar Toribio de Motolinía to Charles V, January 2, 1555, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XX, 185-213.

<sup>67</sup> Dr. Pedro de Santander to the King, July 15, 1557, in *Col. Doc. España*, XXVI, 340-365.



Luis Maiban, in his census report of New Spain about 1560, placed the number at 3,000 and declared that

there are many Indian villages in which there are many Spaniards but which are not recorded here because they would take too much space.<sup>68</sup>

Many of these persons found employment on the encomiendas as overseers entrusted with the task of collecting the tributes of the Indians and supervising the sowing and harvesting of their grain. Others made their living by rustling livestock or by "bootlegging" strong drink to the natives. Still others served as interpreters or, like "ambulance chasers" of the present day, were responsible for the great number of lawsuits brought into court by the natives. And many merely battered upon the Indians and aided the Indian chieftains in oppressing their own subjects.<sup>69</sup>

The inevitable result of this widespread dispersal of Spaniards, Mestizos, Negroes, and Mulattoes among the natives was a great increase in the half-caste population. In 1571, the indignant Friar Hierónimo de Mendieta went to great lengths to point out the urgent necessity of expelling all Spaniards, Negroes, and half-castes of fourteen years and over from the native villages in order to prevent among other things, the numerous illegitimate offspring that came of such intimate racial contacts.<sup>70</sup>

It cannot be said that the crown was lax in making attempts to eliminate vagabondage. Local authorities were ordered to expel all vagabonds from the Indian towns and force them to work in the mines or do other labor.<sup>71</sup> Efforts were then made to segregate the Spanish, Mulatto and Negro vagabonds in separate villages where they were to be given lands,

<sup>68</sup> Latore, *op cit.*, VII-VIII, 58-59.

<sup>69</sup> Bishop Juan de Zumárraga to the Emperor, August 27, 1529, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIII, 104-179; the Queen to the Audiencia and royal justices in New Spain, August 24, 1529, in Puga, *Cedulario*, I, 140; the Queen to the Audiencia of New Spain, September 12, 1537, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, IX, 381-382; Martín Enríquez to the Count of Coruna, September 25, 1580, in *Col. Doc. España*, XXVI, 373-392.

<sup>70</sup> Mendieta to the King, 1571, in *Nueva Col. Méx.*, I, 119-124.

<sup>71</sup> Charles V to the Audiencia of New Spain, December 4, 1528, in *Col. Doc. Ultramar*, IX, 386-399; Royal Instructions to the Viceroy, Luis de Velasco, April 16, 1550, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XXIII, 520-547.

tools, seed, and whatever aid necessary by the government in order to enable them to become self-supporting.<sup>72</sup> But the lack of adequate communications within the colony curtailed the area of effective administration of the local government. There was little to prevent Spanish, Mestizo or Mulatto vagabonds from taking up their residence in the Indian villages remote from the center of control, off the routes of trade or far from the outposts of the religious orders. In such districts, these vagabonds were masters of all they surveyed.<sup>73</sup> Nor was the local government able to act quickly enough to apprehend such culprits. Encomenderos had no civil or criminal jurisdiction over such persons and were without legal power to seize them when they came into their estates. Report of their activities had to be made to the government in Mexico City. By the time the royal authorities had sent out an official to apprehend them they had gone elsewhere. As a result, Licentiate Francisco Ceynos, one-time oidor of the audiencia of Mexico, declared that Spaniard, Mestizo, Negro, Mulatto, and Indian vagabonds whose numbers were "as numerous as the grasses and were increasing by leaps and bounds", were roaming the country without any other means of support than living off the Indians.<sup>74</sup> Small wonder that Luis de Velasco advised Philip II to send this unruly element out of the colony on expeditions of explorations and conquest. The only alternative to this measure, he declared in despair, was to close the port to further immigration and ship the Mestizos and Mulattoes away to Spain.<sup>75</sup> The conquest and settlement of Florida authorized in 1559 was in part designed to help solve this thorny problem.<sup>76</sup> The resumption in 1563 of voyages of discovery and exploring expeditions prohibited in 1542 was in no small measure dictated by the doc-

<sup>72</sup> The King to the Audiencia of New Spain, October 3, 1558, in *Puga, Cedulario*, II, 318-320.

<sup>73</sup> The Prince to the Audiencia of New Spain, August 28, 1552, in *Puga, Cedulario*, II, 178-179.

<sup>74</sup> Ceynos to the King, March 1, 1565, in *D. I. M.*, II, 236-243.

<sup>75</sup> Velasco to the Emperor, May 4, 1553, in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 263-269.

<sup>76</sup> Dr. Pedro de Santander to the King, July 15, 1557, in *Col. Doc. España*, XXVI, 340-365; the Church Council of Mexico to the King, November 1, 1555, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, III, 520-530; Friar Toribio de Motolinía to Charles V, in *ibid.*, VII, 254-287.

trine that colonization was a cure for the social and economic ills of mother country and colony alike.<sup>77</sup> Well might the crown have tried to hew rocks with oyster shells as attempt to eliminate vagabondage by such means! The continued drain of gold and silver from New Spain; the continued rise in prices; the continued reduction of native tributes and their commutation into money tributes; the continued effects of the Spanish monopoly made more oppressive by Spain's inability to control the sea lanes to its colony; and the continued increase in population intensified the very evils which the government was striving to eradicate. Vagabondage and the Mestizo were thus inherited together by later generations, for the sixteenth century saw the beginning and not the end of these social problems.

By the second half of the sixteenth century the lines of racial fusion were fairly well established. The first census report of New Spain which was taken about 1560 is little more than a rough estimate. Yet it reveals that the population of the colony was already composed of many races and many colors. The number of Spaniards according to this report was 20,211; Negro slaves were not far behind with 16,147; Mestizos totaled 2,445 and Mulattoes 1,465.<sup>78</sup>

The number of persons of mixed blood accounted for in the census is undoubtedly far too small. No social phenomenon in the colony was more marked and more commented upon by contemporaries than that which Francisco de Navarro in a later day so aptly called "the notorious fecundity of the castes".<sup>79</sup> The census taker, indeed, found it impossible to obtain any count or even an estimate of the Spaniards, Mestizos, and Mulattoes living on the cattle and sheep ranches or in the native villages. And it was especially in such places that so many of the half-castes took up their abode. Then, too, even at this early date, it was probably a difficult matter to distinguish between some Mestizos and Spaniards. The color

<sup>77</sup> Ordinances regarding new discoveries and settlements, July 13, 1563, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVIII, 484-537; Dr. Pedro de Santander to the King, July 15, 1557, in *Col. Doc. España*, XXVI, 340-365.

<sup>78</sup> Latorre, *op. cit.*, VII-VIII, 44-66.

<sup>79</sup> Francisco Navarro y Noriega, *Memoria sobre la Población de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1814).



of a Mestizo of the first generation was almost perfectly white. The Mestizo's scanty beard, small hands and feet, and a certain obliquity of the eyes betrayed his Indian blood much more than did the color of his skin. If such a Mestizo or Mestiza married a white, the offspring was scarcely to be distinguished from an European.<sup>80</sup>

But taking the figures it sets forth as a basis for calculation, the total population of the colony, excluding Indians, was 40,268. Whites composed about 50 per cent of this number; Negroes 40 per cent; Mestizos 6 per cent, and Mulattoes 3.5 per cent. For better or worse colonial society had become a society of many colors—white, red, black and the varying shades produced by the intermixture of these races. As a society of color it was unique. As a society of smells it was stranger still, for the castes of Indian and African descent retained the bodily odors peculiar to those two races. And Humboldt is authority for the statement that the sense of smell of the Indian muleteers became so sensitive that in the darkness of the night they could distinguish between an European, an Indian, and a Negro. To the first they gave the name, *pezuña*; the second they called *posco*; and the third *grajo*.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Humboldt, *op. cit.*, I, 260.

<sup>81</sup> Humboldt, *op. cit.*, I, 261-262.

## JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT IN ARGENTINA: THE ICA EXPERIMENT

The history of agricultural expansion in Argentina is of particular and intriguing interest to students in the United States, for, similar to a degree, it is yet singularly different from the westward expansion of the northern republic. This study does not attempt to compare these developments in the two countries, but it must be pointed out that in Argentina, in contrast to settlement by individuals in the United States, the conquest of the frontier to a great extent has been carried on at the initiative of colonizing companies. This paper is concerned with the activities of one of these organizations in Argentina, the Jewish Agricultural Association, which, though it possesses unique features, still is typical of agricultural colonization in that country.

The wave of anti-Semitism which swept over Eastern Europe during the nineties of the last century convinced Baron Maurice de Hirsch, Jewish financier and philanthropist, that something more radical than charity was necessary for the relief of the Jew. Hirsch was a social leader of great vision, who thought constructively and in terms derived from his business experience. If the poverty-stricken and humiliated Jews were to be helped, they should be given the opportunity to rehabilitate their own lives. It was his dream that the Eastern European Jews, who for centuries had been isolated in the urban ghettos, should return to the soil and some day form a well-to-do agricultural middle class.<sup>1</sup>

He declared

that the Jews should not huddle in ghettos, but should . . . mix with various peoples in various lands, remaining Jews in religion, but in

<sup>1</sup> Today relatively few Jews are farmers, a fact which must be explained as the result of circumstances rather than of aptitude. The Jews once were an agricultural nation, and the number of Jews still engaged in agriculture all over the world at present is estimated at 800,000. See Gabriel Davidson, "The Jew in Agriculture", in *American Jewish Year Book* (1935-1936), pp. 99-134.

all other respects assimilating with the people among whom they cast their lot.<sup>2</sup>

In 1891, Hirsch founded the Jewish Colonization Association, called the "ICA" for convenience. The charter of the association states its purpose:

To assist and promote the emigration of Jews from any part of Europe or Asia and principally from countries in which they may for the time being be subjected to any special taxes or political or other disabilities to any other part of the world and to form and establish colonies in various parts of North and South America and other countries for agricultural, commercial, and other purposes.

In practice the company has confined its activity chiefly to Argentina.<sup>3</sup>

The company is organized along the lines of a stock company<sup>4</sup> and is controlled by an executive committee of eleven members. New committee members are admitted by vote of the committee itself. At first, the capitalization amounted to two million pounds, but during the ICA's entire existence it has obtained funds totaling eleven million pounds. Hirsch devoted nearly his entire fortune to it.

The strong financial position of the ICA gave it a decided advantage. Moreover, it did not have to contend with the many problems affecting a private land company operating for profit. The charter forbade any financial return to the stockholders and the capital could not be touched. The company was thus able to operate on a large-scale basis, and was powerful enough to overcome the local set-backs in Ar-

<sup>2</sup> The views of Hirsch were in conflict with those of Dr. Theodore Herzl, founder of the modern Zionist movement. The latter was of the opinion that the Jews should be unified within the ancient homeland, Palestine, and that to achieve this aim the Jewish masses must be aroused politically and be made conscious of their own race and nation.

<sup>3</sup> Since 1900 the ICA has established a few agricultural colonies in Brazil, Canada, and Palestine. The Jewish Agricultural Society, also founded by Hirsch, maintains Jewish farm settlements in the United States. See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, 178-189. See also *Rapport de la Direction générale de la ICA* (Paris, 1936).

<sup>4</sup> The baron issued 2,000 shares of a value of 100 pounds each. He himself kept 19,993 shares. One share was sold to the British Baron Rothschild, while the other six shares were given to various Jewish institutions in Europe. See *Encyclopædia Judaica*, IX, 86-94.



gentina as well as the effects of world-wide depressions and the depreciation of various national currencies. The huge but well-managed fund backed both the colonies and the individual settlers, preventing their collapse on more than one occasion.

Some disadvantages are inherent in the ICA set-up. Headquarters are in Paris, far removed from the company's principal activity in Argentina. An executive officer represents the ICA in Buenos Aires, yet the settlers in the hinterland can exert little influence on the decisions of the central administration. The company is somewhat bureaucratic in character, and has always retained certain features of a charitable organization.

Argentina, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, was a thinly-populated, primitive country where cattle raising was the principal occupation. Farming did not develop till the middle of the nineteenth century when exportation of agricultural products to the rapidly industrializing European countries became feasible. Even then, farming was impeded by various handicaps, the most important of which was the existing system of land ownership. Most of the tillable land was, and still is, in the hands of a landed aristocracy of large cattle raisers.<sup>5</sup> Part of these lands were rented to tenants for a period of three or four years. Wheat, flax, corn, and alfalfa were grown. When the lease expired the land was returned to the owner and used again for grazing purposes. The tenant, therefore, did not attempt to cultivate the soil thoroughly, since his interest in the land was merely a temporary one.

These conditions made the intensive method of land cultivation impossible. The immediate interest of the tenant lay in the use of the large tracts of land with the least possible amount of work per acre. Moreover, there was no adequate system of crop rotation to rehabilitate the soil. Instead, a single-crop system was employed for the purpose of providing cash products for the export market.

<sup>5</sup> As late as 1934 there were only 24,297 agrarian owners in Argentina, while 42,958 were tenants and 9,145 renters on shares. See Enrique Siewers, "Opening for settlers in Argentina", in *International Labour Review* (October, 1934), p. 434.

Such methods made farming in Argentina a hazardous occupation. The prices of the world grain market fluctuated widely and rapidly, and took a heavier toll than if diversified farming had been employed. The Argentine farmer became a business man and speculator, but not a farmer rooted in the soil.

When the Argentine government turned its attention to the agricultural problem in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it realized that the creation of a middle class of farmers would benefit the entire country.<sup>6</sup> Two objects would thereby be realized. The empty pampas of the republic would be populated and diversified farming would produce a larger variety of agricultural products. These factors in turn would create new needs, stimulate business in general, and aid the industrial development of the country. The *hacenderos*, by means of political influence, resisted the creation of small farms. Thus it appeared at first that only a relatively small area would be available for colonization.

Immigration and colonization began in the fifties and increased gradually during the remainder of the century.<sup>7</sup> Central Argentina and the pampas were soon linked by rail with Buenos Aires and the ocean. Proximity to cheap water transportation aided the settlement of all these areas. The province of Buenos Aires is bordered by the Río de la Plata; Entre Ríos and Santa Fe are located near the Paraná River; while Entre Ríos to a degree can also make use of the Uruguay River. All these rivers are navigable for ocean-going freights, and are an important factor in the development of the country. The provinces of Santa Fe and Entre Ríos were the first to be settled. In the provinces of Buenos Aires and the territory of the pampas, colonization proceeded at a slower pace, owing to the opposition of the large landholders.<sup>8</sup>

The Argentine government, after a half-hearted attempt, took no active part in the colonization of the country, but con-

<sup>6</sup> See Karl Kaerger, *Landwirtschaft und Kolonisation in Spanischen Amerika* (Leipzig, 1901), I, 469.

<sup>7</sup> See J. Fred Rippy, "Argentina," in *Argentina, Brazil, and Chile since Independence* (Washington, D. C., 1935), p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> See Mark Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampas* (New York, 1926), p. 166.

fined itself to selling public lands to individual colonists and land companies.<sup>9</sup> The latter resold their lands to settlers but in many cases exploited or even defrauded them. Immigrant farmers were often ousted from their lands when they failed to keep up the required annual payments.

Baron de Hirsch became interested in colonization in the Argentine at a most opportune time. In 1890, the country was suffering a depression; many immigrants were leaving because they had failed to establish themselves, and prices of land were falling rapidly. The country was thus badly in need of foreign capital.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, at first, the Argentine government opposed a large influx of Eastern Jews, fearing that such a group would be difficult to assimilate or ill adapted to agricultural work. But soon the government changed its attitude and the first land purchases began. In 1891, Hirsch bought ninety-five square leagues near Nueve de Julio in the province of Buenos Aires and four and a half square leagues in Sante Fe. The next year more land was obtained in Entre Ríos and Buenos Aires. In October, 1893, the area owned by the ICA covered a total of six hundred and thirty-five square leagues, this land being bought for the small sum of 2,500 to 3,500 pesos per square league. After colonization began this land rapidly increased in value.<sup>11</sup> Today the possessions of the company in Argentina amount to about 1,519,000 acres, but much of this land is kept in reserve for future settlers.<sup>12</sup>

The original colonization plans of Hirsch were gigantic and almost utopian in design. In the first year, 25,000 Jews were to be brought to Argentina, and this number was to be increased each year till several millions were settled in the country. A successful business man himself, Hirsch desired that a policy of *laissez faire* should be adopted in regard to the colonists. Land and money for equipment were to be

<sup>9</sup> See Julio G. Velardez, "Colonization in the Argentine Republic", in *Pan American Union Bulletin* (July, 1925), pp. 689-697.

<sup>10</sup> *British Foreign Office Reports* (London, 1894), No. 323.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* See also, *Le Baron Maurice de Hirsch et la Jewish Colonization Association* (Paris, 1931-1932), p. 6. See also Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York, 1937), II, 280.

<sup>12</sup> Mark Wischnitzer, *Die Juden in der Welt* (Berlin, 1935), p. 378. This writer estimates that the company has about 490,000 acres of unoccupied land.



given to the settlers, who thereupon were to work out their own salvation and gradually repay the funds advanced to them.

The latter idea had to be dropped even before colonization began. In practice it was found to be impossible to leave inexperienced immigrants in a strange country to their own devices. Instead, a sort of planned economy was adopted. The colonist was to obtain land, buildings, livestock and implements, and even cash subsidies up to the first harvest.<sup>13</sup> Every settler was to be given a piece of land of such size that it could readily be worked by him and his family—usually a farm of about 123 acres. He was expected to pay back his indebtedness within twenty years.

Large families, who desired to emigrate, were to be selected in Russia itself, and only those qualified for agricultural work were to be chosen. But unforeseen circumstances for a time led to a waiving of these rigid qualifications; for owing to renewed persecutions in Russia the selecting committees were flooded with applications. Persons were consequently accepted indiscriminately and in large numbers. Nearly all of these were without agricultural experience. Many were

small trades people, tailors, shoemakers, peddlers, seamstresses, smiths, etc. Many were worthless loafers of the lowest class, who managed to be included in the first batches of emigrants.<sup>14</sup>

The first immigrants, about 2,850 in number, arrived in June, 1891, and others soon followed. They were sent to Mauricio, Buenos Aires, and Moisesville, Sante Fe, the first colonies. By 1893, two more colonies had been formed at Clara and San Antonio, in northern Entre Ríos. Still later Lucienville in the southern part of Entre Ríos was settled.

The first years proved to be difficult ones and more than once the experiment seemed doomed to failure. The ICA administration at Buenos Aires was too far removed from the scene of operations to give effective day-by-day guidance. The staff was too large and costly to maintain. Many of the settlers expected to come to a promised land, but instead

<sup>13</sup> *Foreign Office Report*, No. 323.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

found a jungle; they had to construct their own houses and proper food was not available. The simplest needs could be satisfied only at great expense or not at all. Some misunderstanding and tension relative to religion developed between the immigrants and the administration. The former were orthodox, eastern Jews, who strictly observed the Mosaic Law, while the latter was made up of liberal, western Jews. It was the aim of the administration, in which it was backed by the Argentine government, to modify the clannish, narrow attitudes of most of the colonists, but its tactics were not always wise.

Not until later was a system of expert agricultural advice developed. The inexperienced colonists were thus left to shift for themselves in regard to important matters. A cash dole of eight pesos a month was granted to the settlers who were not required to give any compensation in return. This proved to be disastrous. The colonists became dependent on the grant and many refused to work. When, because of its ill effects, the dole was discontinued, a rebellion broke out and over eight hundred families left the colonies.<sup>15</sup> Other factors also contributed to the dissatisfaction and unrest. Because of too heavy rains, locusts, droughts, and the extensive farming methods employed by the colonists, crops were often bad or a total failure. The population of the colonies, which in June, 1891, amounted to 2,850 dropped to 2,683 in October, 1893, despite the fact that many new immigrants arrived in the meantime.<sup>16</sup>

These unhappy events were naturally disastrous to the utopian dreams of the baron. Mass immigration was proved impractical from the beginning and the qualifications of pros-

<sup>15</sup> Misunderstanding and deep distrust often characterized relations between administration and colonists. This may be gathered from the language of one of the settlers, who wrote in his memoirs: "During the first years the administration planted seeds of hatred in the hearts of the colonists. . . . This feeling grew with time. The administration stole the property of our father and benefactor, Baron Hirsch, and lived a life of luxury at the expense of his oppressed sons." See article in Hebrew by M. Alpherion (Englished title), *Thirty years of Jewish settlement in Argentina* (partly translated from the Hebrew for the authors by Mr. Erwin Krupnick of Chicago).

<sup>16</sup> *Foreign Office Report*, No. 323.

pective immigrants were more closely scrutinized. As time went on, a proper system of selection was developed.

Shortly before his death in 1896, the baron suggested there should be a pause in immigration till the old colonists were fully established and had adapted themselves to the new environment. During the first years, the colonists were not required to sign a written contract. When such a contract was finally presented to them in 1895, much dissatisfaction arose. True, the terms of the contract were rather harsh. Annual payments, which ordinarily were stretched over a period of twenty years, were increased and the period of reimbursement reduced to twelve years. The colonist did not obtain title to his farm and could not sell it till the last payment was made. If he left his land before this, the payments made were lost. The settler was forbidden to carry on any business except farming, and was not permitted to rent his farm to another person. The contract, however, proved of great educational value for the settler, and today with minor changes is still in use.<sup>17</sup>

Since 1900, the ICA has methodically enlarged its possessions by purchase of additional lands. The following colonies were added: Baron Hirsch, Buenos Aires, in 1904; Narcisse Leven, Pampa Central, in 1908; Dora, Santiago del Estero, in 1910; Montefiore, Santa Fe, in 1912; Louis Oungre and Leonard Cohen, Entre Ríos, in 1930; and quite recently, Avigdor, Entre Ríos. Today there are seventeen colonies.<sup>18</sup> From the first, the ICA carried on a great deal of construction work. As early as 1895 it had constructed 1,361 houses, 958 wells, 42 dykes, 14 synagogues, 12 schools, 2 hospitals, and 14 baths.

It has been described above how the grants of relief money were discontinued because of their harmful effects. Thereafter, the ICA paid cash only for work actually done, particularly in connection with general improvements such as road-building and the clearing of lands. Gradually, the colonists began to accept greater responsibility for their own success and became more diligent. The land cultivated by the same

<sup>17</sup> Karl Kaerger, *op. cit.*, I, 426.

<sup>18</sup> Mark Wischnitzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 376, 377.



number of families increased from 46,800 acres in 1894 to about 170,000 acres in 1896.<sup>19</sup>

The main problem was to induce the colonist to do his work in the proper manner. The first settlers adopted the general farming practice employed in the Argentine at that time. This consisted mainly in the raising of cattle, which required relatively little work. When refrigeration came into use, meat exports from Argentina to Europe greatly increased, and many of the Jewish colonists made handsome profits on the sale of cattle. Important cattle markets developed in Moisesville and Mauricio. After the World War, however, meat prices fell greatly, and to make matters worse, a severe drought caused the death of a large part of the cattle. The colonists realized that more diversified farming was essential to achieve economic stability and independence.

The ICA had always tried to stimulate the interest of the colonist in dairying, but, since the native strain of cattle was not fit for this purpose, European stock had to be imported and an experimental station established at Caballos, Entre Ríos, which in 1903 owned over 5,000 head of cattle.<sup>20</sup> By crossing different types, both meat and milch cattle was improved. In 1930 each colonist possessed ten to twenty milch cows and the average yearly production of milk amounted to twenty millions of liters. Every colony had its creamery, and cheesemaking was introduced. By 1935, the colonists owned 79,699 head of cattle, 51,357 horses and mules, 17,476 sheep; and some 1,644,000 dozens of eggs were sold in that year. The value of cattle and poultry products in some years equaled the income derived from the sale of crops. The cultivated acreage also increased, expanding from 31,100 acres in 1903 to nearly 520,000 acres in 1935. The size of the average farm grew from 62 to 170 acres.<sup>21</sup>

The disadvantages of the single crop system employed in Argentina have already been mentioned. The production of wheat, corn, and flax for the export market seemed more profitable in the beginning, since these crops needed relatively

<sup>19</sup> Karl Kaerger, *op. cit.*, I, 423 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Rapport de la Direction générale de la ICA* (Paris, 1904), p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> *Rapport de la Direction générale de la ICA* (Paris, 1936), pp. 35 ff.

little attention. Frequent droughts, locusts, and rapidly fluctuating prices made the colonists modify their opinion. The ICA administration persistently advised the colonists to change to diversified farming and pointed out how their income could thereby be stabilized and the soil improved. Reluctantly the farmers heeded this counsel and a larger variety of crops, including oats, rye, barley, kafir, and sudan grass, was introduced. The sowing of alfalfa on more than one occasion provided roughage for the cattle, without which they might have perished because of severe droughts. Silos were built to store fodder. The raising of vegetables, which are grown both for home consumption and for the market, was now encouraged. The planting of fruit trees is a step in the same direction and almost every farmer has a fine orchard. Peaches are grown in large quantities, while in Entre Ríos there are citrus plantations. The farms now have an average of forty fruit trees each. All these improvements were made largely because of the unceasing educational work of the ICA.

The ICA administration constantly planned for and supervised the settlers in order that they might better adapt themselves to their environment. For instance, how large should the individual farms be in order that maximum efficiency might be reached? What kind of contract should be given to the colonist? The early contracts did not give the colonists any rights to their lands until all the payments had been made, but in 1924 this provision was modified to the extent that after three years of annual payments and good behavior the farmer received a *promesa de venta*, or a promise that the farm would be sold to no one but himself. After five more years he obtained conditional title to this land while the balance of his debt was converted into a regular mortgage.<sup>22</sup>

When immigration was resumed after the World War, the ICA established an apprenticeship period for prospective colonists. This was called the *quinta* system, and by its terms the newly arrived family received merely a *quinta*, one-fifth the size of the ordinary farm. Here the family obtained ex-

<sup>22</sup> *Le Baron Maurice de Hirsch et la Jewish Colonization Association. A l'Occasion du Centuaire de la Naissance du Baron de Hirsch* (Paris, 1931), pp. 9, 10.

perience during the first year in dairying, poultry raising, and the growing of vegetables. The candidate himself, during this period, was assigned to the farm of one of the older settlers. If he and his family proved capable, they were assigned a farm.<sup>23</sup>

When, in 1936, some German Jews were chosen for colonization the plan was slightly modified. The families were selected in Germany and had to consist of at least two adult males and two adult females, able and willing to perform agricultural work. In exceptional cases, smaller families were admitted when some outsider promised to make up the deficiency. The younger male adult was obliged to spend a month on a Jewish experimental farm near Berlin. If the director of this farm thought him suited for the work, he was then sent to the Argentine ICA colonies to serve an apprenticeship for one year as the farm hand of an experienced colonist. If he was regarded as adapted to farm work, his family joined him on a farm of its own. Only small groups of families came over at one time. Thus the first group of Germans consisted of twenty-six families, who were sent to the colony Avigdor in the province of Entre Ríos, where the climate is healthful and the entire region is served by railroads.

Extensive preparations are made for the colonist's arrival so that he can start to work immediately. The farm is fenced in and has the following improvements: a three-room, brick house containing the bare essentials in furniture, such as a table, four chairs, four beds, a cupboard, a fireplace and a few kitchen utensils; an open barn; a poultry house; a toilet; and a shower. A well is dug for every two to four homes. The settler receives a few horses and cows, and some poultry. Farm implements provided for him include a wagon, a plow, a harrow, shovels, a hoe, etc. Larger pieces of machinery such as sowing machines, discs, and threshing and reaping machines must be shared with other settlers. For the first sowing he also receives a variety of seeds and enough corn to feed his livestock up to the first harvest. Agricultural experts advise and teach him in detail proper farming methods.

<sup>23</sup> "Circular letter of the ICA and Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland", printed in *Jüdische Wanderung* (Berlin, 1936), p. 34.



The financial returns of the colonist during the first year are quite minute. From the sale of milk he receives approximately thirty pesos and from the sale of eggs twelve and a half pesos a month, which gives him a grand total of forty-two and a half pesos a month. If this sum is too small to support the family, the ICA provides paid outside work. During the second year, the average income from milk, calves, and eggs increases to about sixty-seven pesos per month, but he can still raise only enough wheat to cover the flour requirements of the family.

In the third year of settlement, the farm must be fully productive, for not only must family needs be taken care of, but the annual payments to the ICA begin at this time. After eight years, from twenty-five to fifty per cent of the value of land and buildings usually will have been repaid. Within nine years more the colonist receives full title to his farm if he has kept up all the payments. Should he leave the colony at any time during these first seventeen years, the ICA is not obliged to indemnify him for any payments made. This contractual stipulation acts as a great deterrent on any one who otherwise might wish to leave. It is believed that such a period is necessary to build up a farming community rooted in the soil. For the land he pays forty pesos per acre, the buildings are valued at approximately three thousand pesos and the ICA advances about 3,600 pesos for livestock, machinery, and seeds. The total obligation of the colonist who occupies a farm of 125 acres amounts to about 11,600 pesos.<sup>24</sup> In certain cases when the ICA advances traveling expenses for the sea voyage of European immigrants, this sum, too, must be paid back. The interest on all these different items ranges from four to five per cent. Thus the Jewish colonists eventually pay for everything they receive. The ICA conforms as closely as possible to the dictum of Hirsch that it should never become a charitable institution. Still, under average conditions, the colonists can well afford to pay their annual instalments.

<sup>24</sup> Fritz Schwarzschild is of the opinion that colonization in Brazil would cost one-half to two-thirds of this sum and in Paraguay only one-fourth as much. See *Central Verein Zeitung* (February 24, 1938).

The size of farms has varied from time to time, originally being about 125 acres. Because of the single-crop system and cattle raising this proved too small. The ICA yielded to the wishes of the colonists and the farms were increased to 250 acres or more. However, with the development of diversified farming a smaller farm could be used to greater advantage. Farms now average from 125 to 185 acres.<sup>25</sup>

When the Jewish colonists came to Argentina they wished to live together in villages, as had been their custom in Russia, and as was desired by them for social and religious reasons. The ICA, however, had different plans. The village mode of life is a handicap to efficient farming, for too much time must be spent in going back and forth to cultivate distant farm lands. Moreover, the ICA, as well as the Argentine government, did not favor the segregation of national and religious groups. A compromise was finally reached. Some of the colonists were established on their farm lands, others in villages, and still others were placed together in groups of four families, each living on a corner of their land.

The economic well-being of the colonists varied greatly among individuals and at different periods. During the earlier years farming was a hazardous enterprise, but at times a combination of good crops and high prices brought large profits. When these two factors did not coincide considerable hardships were experienced. Essentially, the farmer was a speculator. In 1916, 60 families residing in Moisesville were estimated to be worth from 30,000 to 60,000 pesos each. In 1927, values of land which had been obtained from the ICA at 8.40 pesos per acre, had risen to 125 to 160 pesos per acre.<sup>26</sup> The dream of Hirsch that the colonists one day would form a middle-class peasantry was thus only partly realized.

The farmers who clung to the single-crop system and cattle breeding often suffered heavy reverses. During the severe droughts of 1909 and 1921 many of the wheat speculators and cattle raisers were ruined because of their failure to turn to diversified farming. They even lacked food and the barest necessities of life. In general, boom years witnessed an ex-

<sup>25</sup> "Circular Letter", *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>26</sup> Salo Wittmayer Baron, *op. cit.*, II, 279-280.

pansion during which financial obligations were contracted for the purchase of more land and equipment. When the inevitable depression arrived, the colonists were so burdened with debt and mortgages they could hardly make a bare living, and many left their farms.

Since 1929, world market conditions of agricultural products have been greatly modified. It is probable that because of the drive for economic self-sufficiency on the part of Germany, Italy, the British Empire, and other countries, their demand for Argentine grain and meat may never be as great as it was previously. Further mechanization and improvement of farming methods may also increase agricultural production all over the world. At the same time, the growth of Argentine cities and industrialization will create a domestic market for a greater variety of farm products. This factor already has acted as a powerful stimulus on the colonists to engage in diversified farming to a greater extent than heretofore. The stabilizing influence of this new policy has made itself felt: during the recent depression, the cash income of the colonists dropped sharply, but enough vegetables and food were raised for their own consumption, while dairy and poultry produce found a market locally. Moreover, the Argentine government for a time attempted to support farm prices by means of subsidies. New colonists established themselves on the land even during the worst years of the crisis.<sup>27</sup> Since 1936, indeed, the general improvement in world prices has greatly benefited the farmers of the various colonies.<sup>28</sup>

On the whole the colonists have never been wealthy. "The great majority does not yet live too well and only a few well-to-do" can be found. The greater number are heavily mortgaged and in debt, so that interest payments swallow up their cash incomes.<sup>29</sup> Failures and bankruptcies take place at all

<sup>27</sup> *Rapport de la Direction générale de la ICA* (1936), *op. cit.* See also Ludwig Oppenheimer, "Beruflich gemischte Kolonisations-Politik", in *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik* (March and April, 1935), pp. 57-62.

<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, no definite figures showing the present economic status of the colonists are available. The ICA administration at Paris wrote the authors that its 1938 report has not yet been published.

<sup>29</sup> Leon Malach, "Two Generations in Argentina", in *Menorah Journal* (August, 1929), XIII, 408-416.



times and are particularly common during drought and depression years.<sup>30</sup> In spite of this, by 1935, half of the colonists were independent of the ICA and some farmers who owned from 350 to 1,100 acres of land were relatively wealthy.<sup>31</sup>

During the early, stormy years of the existence of the colonies the dangers inherent in a paternal and bureaucratic system were revealed. The ICA at once set out to remedy this defect. Coöperation and self-help were encouraged. The settlers were given more responsibility for the development of public works and were asked to contribute both in labor and money to the building of roads, and the construction of sanitary, religious, and educational institutions. Of great importance were the creation of local government and administration. About 1900, each colony was given its own council, elected democratically by the inhabitants. At the same time, the ICA restricted its administrative activity and was represented in each colony by one administrator with a small staff. The latter assumed more the character of agricultural, expert advisers and proved invaluable to the settlers.

The coöperatives are the pride of the colonies and are said to be the best in Argentina. The problems and difficulties facing the colonist are too many to be dealt with effectively single-handed. The coöperatives are favored by the ICA and render a variety of services. Credits for implements, seed, and improvements are granted at a low rate of interest. In addition, the coöperatives sell the products of the colonists and serve as central purchasing agencies. Many, indeed, specialize in some one particular service. One at Moisesville concentrates on the sale of cattle, two others are expert in the manufacture and sale of cheese, still another specializes in the slaughtering of cattle and the sale of meat, etc. In all, there are twelve coöperatives, with a total capital approaching one million pesos.<sup>32</sup> They are united in a single association and are closely

<sup>30</sup> During 1935, seventy colonists left, while fifty-eight new ones established themselves. Of the latter group only six were immigrants, forty-one were sons of colonists, and eleven were agricultural farm hands. See *Rapport de la Direction générale de la ICA* (1936), *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Korrespondenzblatt des Hilfsvereins der Juden in Deutschland*, September, 1935, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> *Rapport de la Direction générale de la ICA* (1936), *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

tied to the nine rural banks of the colonies. Various other mutual benefit organizations flourish, including societies for the sick, orphans, and widows.

Social and cultural life are not neglected. There are 67 schools with 187 teachers and 6,143 pupils.<sup>33</sup> Originally, the ICA provided schooling at its own cost, but later, the colonists contributed part of the school expenses. In 1920, the schools became public. In addition to the usual subjects, the schools give courses in agriculture and domestic science. Both Gentile and Jewish children attend. The Jews, of course, have numerous social centers and synagogues where courses in Hebrew and religion are offered.

The number of colonists "has risen steadily since 1899, averaging 75 settlers per year, the total being 985 in 1899 and 3,107 in 1930". The increase was only partly due to immigration from abroad, being mostly accounted for by natural growth. Many of the Jewish agricultural laborers who came to the colonies as farm hands and the younger sons of colonists became farmers. During the World War, immigration was impossible and since 1932 the Argentine government has restricted the influx of immigrants.<sup>34</sup> These factors, as well as the high cost of colonization, did not favor rapid growth.<sup>35</sup> The total Jewish agricultural population increased from 5,865 in 1894 to 17,742 in 1934, while in 1935 the number declined sharply to 14,677. Many of the members of the agricultural colonies left during the year last mentioned because of the depression and crop failures.

The non-agricultural population in the villages and towns must also be taken into account. The local towns provide a fine market for much of the produce from the farms. Basavilbaso, Entre Ríos, the largest town in the colonies, has a population of 7,000. Sixteen commercial firms, twenty-four industrial establishments, forty workshops, three libraries, and two banks are located in this town. Moisesville, Santa Fe, has a population of approximately 3,800. In all there are sixteen villages and towns in the ICA territories with a population of

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>34</sup> Siewers, *op. cit.*, in *International Labor Review* (October, 1934), pp. 434 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Fritz Schwarzschild, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

about 16,000. Thus the total number of inhabitants in the ICA areas exceeds the 30,000 mark.

From the social viewpoint, the towns play an important rôle, for it is here that Jews and non-Jews meet. The ICA, in harmony with the purpose for which it came into existence, desires to have farms occupied by Jews only. On the other hand, it frowns on segregation. Thus the town affords the opportunity whereby the Jewish colonist can be related to and assimilated by the national and cultural life of Argentina. In 1933, the town population amounted to 9,361 Jews and 7,435 Gentiles with the latter apparently on the increase.<sup>36</sup> There is a tendency on the part of the Jews to move to large cities.

This situation raises a question of major policy for the ICA. Is it to encourage the immigration of craftsmen and tradesmen into the towns, or shall only farmers be admitted? The present proportion of town and country people is about the same as it is in other non-Jewish colonies in Argentina. Because the background and training of European Jews are largely non-agricultural, there is some pressure on the ICA to select more townspeople. For the present, however, the farm areas can hardly support a larger urban population, while the Argentine government restricts the immigration of persons who do not intend to engage in farming.

The ICA has made a real contribution to the national life of Argentina. The economic advantages to the country are obvious and need no elaboration. Large stretches of fertile farm lands have been wrested from the jungle and the pampas. By a process of careful selection, the ICA has succeeded in bringing a high type of colonist to Argentina, an important element among the various groups that constitute the melting pot of Argentine civilization. Many of the sons of colonists, who went to Buenos Aires and other large cities to obtain an advanced education, have made an unusual record for themselves. Among them are well-known physicians, journalists, lawyers, artists, and others. One of the foremost leaders in congress is the son of an ICA colonist. The colonies may well be proud of their place in Argentine life.

<sup>36</sup> *Rapport de la Direction générale de la ICA* (1936), *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.



Much of the significance of the ICA lies in the fact that it will be able to give freedom to the persecuted Jew in the future as it has in the past. Its financial position is strong and abundant farm lands are still available. Moreover, by showing concrete results it has disproved the statement that the Jew cannot be a successful farmer. The percentage of Jews that fail and leave is not higher than that of other agricultural colonies in Argentina. The ICA has demonstrated that the urban Jew can change his mode of life and that new tasks and a different environment have the power to modify men, in spite of tradition or alleged "racial" characteristics.

An eyewitness describes these sons of Jews from the ghettos of Eastern Europe in colorful language:

Riding their horses with the grace and ease of the gauchos, clad in the cape and sombrero of the gaucho, dirks and revolvers in their belts, . . . they present a gallant picture; to all appearances wild Indians rather than respectable Jewish boys and girls.<sup>37</sup>

A recently arrived German Jewish immigrant enthusiastically writes of his new environment. His letter dated May, 1936, says:

We have three hundred acres of land, ten horses, ten cows, and a hundred chickens which run freely around the house. We have already planted a large garden. We shall also plant our own fig trees. We make butter and the most beautiful cheeses. . . . We do not know what it means to be hungry; he who is willing to work will be able to see things through. . . . The ICA has taken care of everything. When we came here we found an excellent brick house with a front porch. The ICA here at Avigdor possesses 50,000 acres of uncultivated land and can thus provide a happy home for a thousand more families. . . . Half a year ago everything was still brushland and forest, while today one sees pastures, grain fields, roads, and neat little farmhouses.<sup>38</sup>

In general, the ICA can be credited with substantial achievements, considering the limitations within which it has had to operate. It has created a model organization, and has steered a successful middle course between stifling bureaucracy on the one hand and hazardous individual coloniza-

<sup>37</sup> Leon Malach, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-416.

<sup>38</sup> *Jüdische Auswanderung* (September, 1936), *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 38.

tion on the other. A slow but steady improvement is noticeable in the condition of the settlers. They are obtaining a satisfactory livelihood, though few of them are wealthy. A sturdy middle class of farmers has developed. Yet, owing to economic and climatic conditions, the colonies are never immune from severe setbacks. Some settlers leave the colonies every year and thus the less efficient and less persistent are automatically weeded out. At times, the ICA has had to deal severely with the settlers, but such a policy was necessary in order to master an unkind environment. Today, there is a general recognition that the form of organization and the methods of the ICA have effectively contributed to the conquest of the Argentine frontier.

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## IN MEMORIAM OF JOHN CARL PARISH

John Carl Parish, Professor of History in the University of California at Los Angeles, died on January 13, 1939. His passing was untimely. He had not yet completed the fifty-fourth year of his age when he was stricken by a serious illness in the summer of 1936. Restored to something like his normal strength by complete rest during a semester, he resumed his teaching duties in February, 1937. From this time until a few days before the end, he was able to carry on effectively. But he had to conserve his energies. Consequently, only bits came from his pen during these later years, one of which—a brief article on the West—his friends will read with melancholy interest in the *Dictionary of American History* soon to appear. Completed only two or three weeks before the end, this article is Parish's farewell to history. Nothing could have been more appropriate, for he was a son of the West and to the history of the West he devoted the better part of his scholarly endeavor. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Iowa in 1908. He had then already published his first volume—a life of *Robert Lucas*. This he soon followed with two other biographies, *John Chambers* and *George Wallace Jones*. It was in this early period also that he brought out his *Man with the Iron Hand* and edited *The Robert Lucas Journal of the War of 1812* and *The Autobiography of John Chambers*. He was for a time associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and for two years he was editor of its historical monthly, the *Palimpsest*. In California, he was for two or three years editor of the *Proceedings* of the Southern California Historical Society; and finally, to crown his editorial work, he founded—he will hardly be denied that honor—the *Pacific Historical Review*, of which he was editor until he was compelled by failing health to resign the position. A disciple of Turner, he had long been a thoughtful student of the westward movement. He published "The Persistence of the Westward Movement," "Reflections on the



Nature of the Westward Movement," and a number of other penetrating articles of a similar nature. These studies seemed to give promise of a more extensive work on the subject. Indeed, Parish had already embarked upon the writing of such a work when ill-health assailed him. American historians will regret the unfinished task and mourn the premature passing of one of their ablest and most beloved colleagues.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Tarnished Warrior: Major-General James Wilkinson.* By JAMES RIPLEY JACOBS (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. xv, 380. \$3.50.)

This notable account of the joys and sorrows of General Wilkinson might well be called a study in salesmanship, for Wilkinson was most of the time trying to sell himself to somebody. The story is worth reading because his selling campaign was conducted on an international scale, carried him into high places, and was for a long time remarkably successful. Born in Maryland in 1757, he died in Mexico in 1825, and in the interval he peddled his wares over a large part of North America. As a youth, he studied medicine in Philadelphia; but he soon deserted Hippocrates for Mars. He caballed with Conway and conspired with Burr, and while he commanded the United States Army in the West, he was the paid agent of Spain in a scheme to disrupt the Union. He was on sale to the highest bidder at all times, except, perhaps, in his two marriages, the first of which was with a Quakeress (a Philadelphia Biddle) and the second with a "divine little [Louisiana] Creole" half his own age.

The most remarkable thing about his career is that, although many of the details of his skullduggery were known, he not only escaped conviction but retained the confidence of four administrations—those of Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, and Madison. He owed his impunity partly to the fact that the best proofs of his guilt lay hidden in the Spanish archives. Only in the present century have they been brought to light through the researches of William R. Shepherd, Isaac J. Cox, and other historians. One of the chief merits of the present work is the fact that it is the first scholarly synthesis of their scattered monographs, supplemented by Major Jacobs's own study of the sources.

He has also made an important original contribution by writing the first authoritative account of Wilkinson's long military career. The archives of the War Department and other manuscript sources yielded a great deal of new information on this subject, which Major Jacobs's own training as a soldier enabled him to use to good advantage. Besides putting General Wilkinson in his proper niche, he has painted an intimate picture of army life in the early days and

has unearthed data that social historians will find useful. His estimate of his "tarnished warrior's" technical proficiency is indicated by his statement, made with special reference to the War of 1812, that "few contemporary generals saw more dimly in the 'fog of war'" than did Wilkinson (p. 311).

Readers of this REVIEW will be particularly interested in Major Jacobs's fresh account of Wilkinson's connection with Mexican revolutionary activities in the United States and his sojourn in Mexico, where he spent the last three years of his life.

Though this is in many respects an excellent biography, it suffers from several defects that should be corrected in subsequent editions. The author seems to have overlooked certain manuscript sources, notably the Reed and Forde papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which, as I pointed out in an article published in July, 1937 (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI, 237-262), contain a good deal of information about Wilkinson's early trading ventures from Pennsylvania to Kentucky and thence to Spanish New Orleans. Several items are also missing from the list of secondary works in the bibliography. In view of Professor J. L. Mecham's recent article, "The Origins of Federalism in Mexico" (this REVIEW, XVIII, 164-182), Major Jacobs will probably wish to modify his account of the influence of Wilkinson and Austin on the Mexican Constitution of 1824 (p. 332).

Wilkinson's milieu is described in considerable detail and often with telling effect; but the reader is sometimes left in doubt as to the point of view from which the scene is being painted. For instance, Major Jacobs remarks (p. 334) that Wilkinson judged his fellow countrymen with "unusual acumen": are we to understand from this that he endorses Wilkinson's just-quoted characterizations of James Madison as a "little Jesuit" and of James Monroe as a "bifaced . . . leather-headed ass" (pp. 327, 333)? Again, Major Jacobs describes John Randolph's efforts to expose Wilkinson as "vindictive" (p. 243) and as "this business of muckraking and abuse" (p. 263), and complains that Randolph and his allies "were not at all affected by the fact that a military court of inquiry, meeting in 1808, had cleared Wilkinson of any misconduct as an officer" (*ibid.*); and yet Major Jacobs himself strongly suggests in an earlier passage (p. 242) that this court of inquiry was little if anything more than a board of whitewashers, and he has devoted a large part of his book to proving up to the hilt that Wilkinson was guilty of the most serious offenses with which Randolph charged him.



These, however, are relatively minor faults in a book which is based upon diligent and fruitful research in manuscript and printed sources as well as upon extensive use of secondary works, and is enriched by more than a score of illustrations, including portraits of Wilkinson by Gilbert Stuart and Charles W. Peale. It is the best book yet written about a plausible scoundrel who, in the age of the Founding Fathers and homespun republican virtue, held high place in public life for more than forty years. It is not Major Jacobs's fault that the story is still fantastic.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

University of Pennsylvania.

*En Defensa de las Instituciones Libres.* By ALFREDO L. PALACIOS. Prologue by MANUEL SEOANE. (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1936. Pp. 330.)

Alfredo L. Palacios, important socialist leader, law professor, and senator from Buenos Aires, has had a remarkable influence upon contemporary political and intellectual expression in Argentina. His present offering grows out of the military revolution of 1930, in which he supported the overthrow of Yrigoyen, but was opposed to the establishment of a military dictatorship. This opposition was expressed in the university council, before bodies of students and political gatherings, in the press, in private correspondence, and in the national senate, and is thoroughly consistent with the principles he has professed throughout his public career. He believes that military power should be exercised only as a transitory measure and should never interfere with the free expression of public opinion. Ready to support a temporary state of siege exercised through constitutional means, he was utterly opposed to a continuance of martial law such as existed in Argentina after the revolution of 1930.

The extracts from his speeches and correspondence which fill the volume are accompanied by a running narrative and occasional footnotes that serve to explain their significance. The selections are sufficiently extensive to impress upon the reader the reaction of more liberal elements in Argentina to present developments. The volume, it may be noted, is more significant for its explanation of internal affairs in Argentina than of foreign policy. The author's speeches and letters gained for him a brief jail sentence. It is to be hoped that in its present form it will awaken more widespread admiration for his intelligence, courage, and statesmanship.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Northwestern University.

*Pueblo Enfermo.* By ALCIDES ARGÜEDAS. (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1937. Pp. xvi, 18-281.)

The editorial house of Ercilla presents a third edition of this well-known work. Its appearance is also significant of a change in publishing methods within recent years. The book firms of Buenos Aires, Santiago, Lima, Bogotá, and Mexico are profiting, during the present civil war in Spain, at the expense of their Iberian fellows. Hispanic America as a whole, we may add, is gaining the boon of cheaper books.

Nearly thirty years have passed since Argüedas first brought out this notable study of social life in Bolivia. As might be expected, such a bold attack upon contemporary evils aroused bitter recriminations. But as José Enrique Rodó then assured him, the evils that he described were in varying degree those of all Hispanic America. Consequently, he inspired like studies in other countries, so that today, when the third edition appears, it finds itself in abundant company.

Company, yes, but one does not encounter the local improvement in Bolivia that he might wish. That country has since passed through the four tragic years of the Chaco War, not to mention widespread exploitation of its national resources and contemptuous disregard of its diplomatic efforts. Nevertheless, one must acknowledge that the book has in considerable measure fulfilled its mission. It has inspired a handful at least of Bolivian leaders to take up national problems and has given outsiders an opportunity to appreciate their effort. It is not too much to say that the book has created a movement for social betterment throughout the continent. Bolivia, isolated and defeated, thus has contributed its share toward solving the universal racial and political problems of Indo-America.

In the third edition, as in the second, the author incorporates some developments of the last thirty years. Bolivia, like its neighbors, has experienced change but in slighter degree. Its womankind, at least in the higher circles, faces greater opportunities, even if not always able to profit by them. Sanitary conditions among the Indians are better, but little improvement appears in respect to the consumption of alcohol. Educational opportunities have slightly widened, although still wholly inadequate. The press shows scant improvement. The list of executives during the past century is a sorry one, but those of the recent period conform more completely to neighboring standards. Militarism unfortunately still plays too prominent a part in the country's program. This state of affairs, the author tells us, exists with little protest from the people at large. Such is to be inferred from the recent Chaco struggle.

In the present edition the author presents a letter of Ramiro de Maeztu, written from Paris thirty years back, which points out a remarkable similarity between conditions in Spain following 1898, and present conditions in Bolivia. The daughter country evidently comes honestly by its heritage of disorder and despair. Nevertheless, the frank facing of facts on the part of Argüedas is a necessary step toward material and moral improvement.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Northwestern University.

*Dos Hombres. Portales y Lastarria.* By DOMINGO MELFI. (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1937. Pp. 151. In Chile, \$10 m/ch; in foreign countries, \$1.40, U. S. A.)

This brief volume presents two widely diverse characters in Chilean history: Diego Portales and José Victorino Lastarria. The author interprets the former largely through personal letters to his intimate friend Garfías. They represent the dictator as the man of business in public office rather than the devoted patriot. Portales dedicated himself to the establishment and preservation of order either within or without the law as opportunity might determine. The present sketch shows him as a man of unusually strong sexual passions and at the same time exhibiting a high sense of honor in fiscal matters, both personal and public. In public life he gradually became a hard, pitiless administrator, cruelly punishing those who disturbed the affairs of state. For example: "If my father should conspire", he wrote to Garfías, "I would cause him to be shot". Occasionally he showed charity even to personal enemies. His idea was to build up a strong state based on the landed aristocracy. He cared more to exercise power than to wear the trappings of office. So he wrote his friend: "I would not give the zamacueca (folk dance) for the presidency". His political machine needed his personal attention, but he preferred to remain in the background. In his intense personal devotion to his ideal, consecrated by his assassination, he so thoroughly penetrated the life of contemporary Chile that he made possible the three decades of autocratic rule that followed his untimely death. His later reputation proves the aphorism: "History pardons those who prevail".

If Portales represents a continuance of the aristocratic colonial régime, Lastarria embodies the spirit engendered by the wars of independence. In every respect he seems the opposite of the great dictator. Born during the struggle against Spain, he acquired, as did many of his fellows, a precocious maturity. He spent his life as a



teacher, generally in poverty, occasionally in exile, but continually struggling against the prevailing autocracy. He was not opposed to order as embodied in the system of Portales and of Manuel Montt, but he felt that leaders should devote themselves to the building up of permanent democratic institutions. A product of the agitated '40's, in a period of civil and educational progress, Lastarria strove to establish peace, but peace within law and personal rights. People acknowledged his intelligence, his disciples adored his principles and his personal character, but his generation, failing to act with benevolence, left him in bitter solitude. Yet he preferred this lot to a more popular one, even if it led an occasional follower to desert him, come back to his allegiance, and again leave him. In a society undergoing the formative process, as was contemporary Chile, it was preferable to maintain a forceful character rather than to gain leadership by forcible means. Chile, the writer believes, has been unjust to Lastarria, whose unbreakable morality merits a statue not yet erected to his memory.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Northwestern University.

*Los Convenios de Bucareli ante el Derecho Internacional.* By ANTONIO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO. (Mexico: Editorial Polis, 1938. Pp. xiv, 234.)

The Bucareli agreements, though twice published officially in Mexico, continue to draw comment and condemnation in the national press because of their "secrecy". The terms of the agreements Sr. Gómez Robledo examines in the light of the latest developments in the petroleum industry and land policy of Mexico. He finds the two treaties for settlement of claims of their respective citizens arising between Mexico and the United States from 1868 to 1920 to have been serious errors on the part of the Obregón administration in that they agreed to pay damages arising out of civil wars and failed to insist on the principle that a law of general character adopted by a nation cannot be questioned as carrying with it a "denial of justice" to those who fall within its terms.

These mistakes, however, he considers less baneful than the agreements between the executives of the two republics which were not in treaty form. As to oil, Mexico undertook, in accordance with the decisions of its supreme court, not to question the ownership of petroleum in the subsoil if the owner of the surface had by "positive act" shown his intent to exploit it. The author believes the decision of the supreme court disastrous. He contends that the executive in agreeing that its policy would follow the rule set by the courts sur-

rendered rights which Mexico enjoyed under its constitution and international law. Further, the agreements, being made by the executive only, are not binding on the country. The arguments elaborated are supported by historical materials and citations from writers in international law which merit examination, especially by those who have believed that the oil controversy had only one side.

The second of the non-treaty agreements involving the land program is subjected to similar analysis. Taking of private property for social purposes without compensation has precedents, it is pointed out, in practice. Claims for repayment, it is argued, have no standing in international law. Consequently, the Mexican promise that any taking of lands from a citizen of the United States in excess of 1,755 hectares was to be paid for in cash surrendered rights Mexico held under its own constitution and the law of nations. Since this also was merely an executive understanding, it, like that on oil, could not bind later administrations.

Having ably set out the Mexican contentions on oil and land policies the author in his later chapters proceeds by what seems a *tour de force* to relate the Bucareli agreements with the treaty of Versailles, the Monroe Doctrine, the good-neighbor policy and the movement for continental solidarity. All are condemned as instruments either forced on the weak, or policies and proposals which seek to impose on them. Mexico has always been ill-treated by other powers. The Monroe Doctrine is a covert means of giving effect to the will of the United States in all America, the good-neighbor policy is only "honeyed words" by which Secretary Hull seeks to make palatable to the lesser states the hegemony of his country. The demand for "continental solidarity" is only a cloak for another imperialistic program. Great Britain, the author maintains, is at least straightforward if brutal in its policies. The United States hides its force behind studied hypocrisy.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

*The Sugar Economy of Puerto Rico.* By ARTHUR D. GAYER, PAUL T. HOMAN, and EARLE K. JAMES. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xviii, 326. \$3.75.)

So much of the discussion of Puerto Rico reflects emotion that a factual analysis such as the author's attempt is highly welcome. It is the first major effort of the sort since the much broader study, *Puerto Rico and its Problems*, which appeared under the direction of Victor S. Clark in 1930. The book deals almost exclusively with the sugar

industry and its effect on the life and economic development of the island.

Though funds for the investigation were supplied by three of the local sugar companies, the authors announce that their investigations were not limited by their sponsors nor their conclusions censored by them. The approach throughout is factual and the statistics cited, except those based upon questionnaires, rest on authoritative printed documentary materials including those of the various federal agencies which have in recent years sought improvement in the local life.

In sum, the conclusions reached indicate that it is not to be expected that economic conditions will be greatly modified by the programs which have been proposed and are now being tried. The fundamental problem of overpopulation will not be solved by them and in some cases may be accentuated. The disadvantages brought by the development of the sugar industry in the period of American control are more apparent than real. The hope that Puerto Rico can grow its own food is unjustified. It must continue to live chiefly through the yield of export crops. Development of a greater diversity of crops marketable abroad is hindered by competition of areas of lower labor cost.

Sugar production gives the best economic use to the land now under cane and employs more people than would devoting it to other crops. Parcelization of the land, though it might tend to reduce social friction, would not increase economic yield. The law limiting corporation ownership to 500 acres, steps to enforce which are now being taken, will if the plan is carried through, bring "far-reaching economic disturbance" without assuring the social end sought—ownership in small farms.

Assuming that breaking up the larger holdings could be reached by buying out those at present in control, the alleged draining of the balance of payments would not stop. Payments of the services of capital would not cease since presumably even a federally financed long-run scheme of "colonization" would necessitate the assumption of interest and amortization charges. Indeed, if temporarily the population found conditions eased there is reason to believe that the advantages might soon be canceled by the steady increase of the total island population.

The volume does not attempt to discuss the range of social and political problems in the island. It adds materially to the information on the economic background which conditions and may limit the action which can be taken to remedy conditions admittedly highly unsatisfactory.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.



*Argentine Meat and the British Market. Chapters in the History of the Argentine Meat Industry.* By SIMON G. HANSON. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, California [c1938]. Pp. vii, 294. \$3.50.)

This excellent analysis of the rôle of the livestock industry in lifting Argentina into the ranks of the great suppliers of foodstuffs in international trade is, it is to be hoped, only the first of a series which scholars will give us. Such volumes demonstrate the importance of Hispanic America to the world at large much more effectively than the popular generalizations about the interdependence of all nations and the solidarity of interest in the new world.

Some such studies, like the one in hand, will help to bring home to Americans the fact that certain of the Hispanic-American states now find their economic bonds much more with the old world than with the new. Facts of this sort it is essential to bear in mind when passing judgment on national commercial policies aimed to increase the interchanges among American states.

Mr. Hanson analyzes the development of the Argentine beef industry and trade primarily from original materials. The effect of the invention of refrigeration on the meat market, the boom period of the opening years of the century, the elimination of the competition of the United States and the rise of other competing southern hemisphere areas are all described in detail and with a sense of perspective which saves the description from becoming dull. The service of the Argentine meat trade in supplying the Allies in the World War is well described. It is a chapter of experience too little known. Topics later considered are the shift in financial control of the Argentine meat industry brought by the entry of American packers, the manipulation of the market by them, and the increasing, but not always wise, efforts of the local government to regulate the industry by legislation. The book closes with a consideration of the effect of the British measures to favor empire meats at the expense of Argentina and the adjustments in the opposite direction in the Roca-Runciman treaties.

Though the writer does not stress the point, the developments he describes show in striking manner the interdependence of the markets of the world and the degree to which current national policies divert commerce from the course which but for them it would take.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

*Historia economica do Brasil, 1500-1820.* By ROBERTO C. SIMONSEN. [Bibliotheca Pedagogica Brasileira. Serie V, "Brasiliana", vols. 100-100A.] Introduction by AFRANIO PEIXOTO. 2 vols. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937. Pp. 374, 371. Maps, charts, illus.)

The first impression made on the reader by these two solid volumes is that of Simonsen's rich and well-stocked mind as shown in a wealth of detail and stimulating statement and criticism of ideas. The second is that of the value of his work as a handy and reliable guide to the almost untouched field of Brazilian economic history. Simonsen presents to the critical reader an historical description of the economic development of his country and at the same time offers him enough statistical and documentary material to allow the forming of independent conclusions.

The two volumes embody a course of lectures given from the chair of economic history of Brazil of the *Escola livre de Sociologia e Politica* de São Paulo during the school year of 1936. The first volume covers the early extractive exploitation of Brazil and then examines sugar and cattle, the two great economic resources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second volume is given over largely to a discussion of gold in the eighteenth century and of the commercial policy of D. João VI. The essentially topical treatment fits into a roughly chronological scheme because of the conditions of the economic development of Brazil.

Simonsen's study is remarkable for breadth as well as for depth of treatment. He covers a multitude of phases of industry and commerce from navigation and circulating mediums to cattle-raising and customs policy. His examination of the purely economic brings about fascinating shifts in the perspective and proportion of the usual political history of Brazil. He rests his work to some extent, as might be expected, on secondary material, but this he uses well and in his use shows a laudable familiarity with recent scholarly work.

The first volume and the first third or so of the second volume are the best portions of the work. Here Simonsen has used little synthetic summaries between masses of facts to state tendencies and directions of economic development. The rest of the second volume, and especially the last chapter, seems to show hasty composition and consists mainly of the citation of material not subjected to any particular pattern. The contribution of these last chapters is the picture of D. João VI, who appears, as Afranio Peixoto points out in his preface, as "o mais benemerito dos soberanos ao serviço do Brasil". (I, 15). The closing chapters suffer only in comparison with the more elaborated

earlier ones. It is to be hoped that, in the next edition, Simonsen will amplify and coördinate this section in carrying his story down into the period of the empire.

The author has done a fine service to students of Brazilian history. His vigorous attack on a new subject has broken paths and set up signposts for students of economic history to follow. At the same time his analysis of economic developments will help students of wider interests to see relations between phases of Brazilian history that so far have not been clear.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

*O Índio Brasileiro e a Revolução Francesa: As origens brasileiras da Theoria de Bondade natural.* By AFFONSO ARINOS DE MELLO FRANCO. [Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, dirigida por Gilberto Freyre.] (Rio de Janeiro: Editora José Olympio, 1937. Pp. 333. Illus.)

The captivating title of Mello Franco's book is a little misleading. What is under discussion is not so much the relation of the Brazilian Indian to the French Revolution as the effect of that Indian on the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau that were current in the ideology of the French Revolution. The subtitle correctly stresses the rôle of the Brazilian Indian in the formation of theories of human goodness. The book is not intended to prove that the basis for all such theories was Brazilian, but to point out the surprisingly large part played by Brazilian elements in their formation (p. 331). In analyzing so completely only the rôle of the Brazilian Indian, Mello Franco tends, though it is not his purpose to do so, to make the reader forget the other exotic influences at work in intellectual France. To appreciate fully what he has done, the student should read his book against the background of two by Gilbert Chinard in the same field—*L'exotisme américain dans la Littérature française au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1911); and *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la Littérature française au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1934).

Mello Franco reviews the theories of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries about the natural goodness or wickedness of man and the ways in which nearly all wonderful or fantastic creatures and notions came to be localized in the new world and, to a large extent, in Brazil. From this survey he derives the interesting proposition that the noble savage, who most influenced European philosophers, was a Brazilian. To test this proposition he examines almost every occurrence in French literature of mention of primitive



man, good or bad, and searches out many references to Brazilian Indians. Obviously, he finishes with too vast a body of material to be analyzed in equal detail, so that at times he must be content to point out a similarity or a tell-tale phrase and pass on to his next instance. In his discussion of Montaigne, however (because of an early predilection for and study of the *Essais*), and to some extent in that of Rousseau, the analysis is admirably thorough and penetrating. A great deal of his subject matter is interesting in itself and that interest is enhanced by the choice of language in which Mello Franco presents his ideas.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE ON LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIA- TION, HELD IN CHICAGO DECEMBER 28, 1938

The Conference met at the Stevens Hotel and Professor J. Fred Rippy, chairman of the Conference, appointed Professor William Spence Robertson to preside over the business meeting after the luncheon to take the place of Professor James A. Robertson who had not yet arrived.

The luncheon speaker was Dr. John Tate Lanning of Duke University, who spoke on "The Last Stand of the Schoolmen". He pointed out that there was a black legend of cultural as well as social and political history of the colonial era. The primary fruit of pure scholasticism was the prodigy of rote memory, but in time there was a great demand for the works of eclectics like Father Jerónimo Feijóo. The initial attack on scholasticism took the form of lampoons against Aristotle. Very soon general criticism arose, new ideas were accepted, intellectual liberty was granted or maintained, the peripatetic system was considered outmoded by principles experimentally confirmed, and even the authority of the Holy Fathers was impugned. Between 1736 and 1790 the Cartesian system of methodical doubt was accepted generally in Mexico and South America. Thus in the eighteenth century the Latin-American scholar debated all the ramifications of mechanism and followed Locke to the very door of materialism. Intellectual strides were thus made within the scholastic formula but without the scholastic spirit. The way was prepared for the revolutions through Descartes, Gassendi, and Newton before the *philosophes* meant anything. The intellectual leaders of freedom were convinced by Newton before they were intrigued by Raynal. As time passed the cultural lag of America behind Europe grew less and less.

Mr. Richard F. Pattee of the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department then made some interesting comments about his department. He said that there were many misconceptions and queer ideas about the department, as the creation of the Cultural Division seemed to be a departure from the traditions of the State Department, which did not encourage propaganda by intellectual activities. He showed that the Cultural Division could not be confined entirely

to Latin America, but its activities were extremely wide and could not be limited by geography or any other force. The State Department believed that there was need of coördination and contact with all institutions in other countries; consequently the Cultural Division was to be a clearing-house in dealing with other nations and it must be on a very high plane so that there might be no accusation of using it for daily policy. He said that one of the purposes is to adapt our culture and thought to Latin America and in this way to make available to those nations the best we have to offer.

After the annual luncheon a business meeting was held, at which Professor William Spence Robertson presided. Professor Charles W. Hackett, chairman of the committee appointed to revise the Constitution of the Hispanic-American Conference of the American Historical Association, reported on the draft drawn up by the committee. All the members of the committee signed the draft except Professor Charles E. Chapman who did not wish the Conference to be called *Latin American*, although the other four members accepted the name *Latin American Conference*.

The constitution adopted consists of six articles.

1. The *name* of this organization is the *Conference on Latin-American History*.

2. The *objects of the Conference* are to assist the program committee of the American Historical Association in preparing the program for a Latin-American session at the annual Association meeting, to provide for a luncheon or dinner meeting of teachers, students, and others interested in Latin-American history and allied fields to be held in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and to take whatever action may seem desirable for furthering the interests of the Conference group.

3. (a) *Membership* in the Conference is open to all persons interested in the history and civilization of the countries of Latin origin in the Americas.

(b) Applications for admission to membership shall be made in writing to the Secretary-Treasurer and shall be passed upon by a Membership Committee consisting of the Chairman for the current year, the Chairman for the preceding year, and the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare and present at the annual meeting a list of the members. This list shall be open to inspection during the business meeting; and it shall be conclusive evidence of membership, except that it may be corrected by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.



The Chairman of the Constitutional Committee explained that Professor Arthur P. Whitaker was responsible for the latter part of this article and wanted a list of members kept. A discussion took place concerning this article, and Messrs. A. Curtis Wilgus, Victor H. Paltsits, and Watt Stewart declared that it had always been understood that subscribers to THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW were members of the Conference. Professor Wilgus suggested that institutions subscribing to the REVIEW could be members of the Conference by sending a delegate. Professor J. Fred Rippy raised the question of Latin Americans who desired to be members of the Latin American Conference but did not wish to belong to the American Historical Association. Professor William Spence Robertson suggested that they might be honorary members.

An amendment to Article 3 was passed, namely, that all present and future subscribers to THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW who are members of the American Historical Association shall be members of the Conference. All others must make application for membership as Article 3 states.

Articles 4 and 5 were passed without discussion.

4. The officers of the Conference are a Chairman and a Secretary-Treasurer. They shall be elected at each annual luncheon or dinner meeting of the Conference, and shall serve for one year at a time. Only the Secretary-Treasurer may be elected for successive terms. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep the minutes of all meetings and shall send copies of the same to the editors of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, of the *American Historical Review*, and of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association one month after each annual meeting.

The Conference at each meeting shall also elect two other persons, to serve with the newly elected Chairman, the retiring Chairman, and the Secretary-Treasurer as a General Committee of the Conference for the following year.

Nominations shall be made by a Nominating Committee of three persons appointed by the Chairman. This committee shall consider names suggested to it in writing by any member of the Conference as well as the names of other competent individuals.

5. The duties of the General Committee are to carry out the objects of the Conference as stated in paragraph two.

6. Any member of the Conference may at any time suggest in writing to the Secretary-Treasurer any proposed amendment or amendments (giving reasons) to the Constitution of the Conference. Such suggested amendments must be considered at the next meeting

of the Conference, and may be accepted by a two-thirds vote of all members present.

Professor Arthur P. Whitaker was responsible for part two of this article which read: Amendments shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of this Constitution, when ratified by a majority of the members present at two successive annual meetings. Professor Wilgus suggested that it should read "the following meeting" instead of "two successive annual meetings". Professor Morrison proposed that amendments should be published in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. Professor Shields moved that this last part concerning amendments proposed by Professor Whitaker should be omitted and Professor Wilgus seconded the motion, which was carried.

Professor Rippy moved that the Constitution passed should be published by *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* and that any future amendments be published in advance of the meetings. The motion was carried.

The minutes of the 1937 Conference held in Philadelphia, December 29, 1937, were read and approved.

Professor Rippy then made a report for the nominating committee which presented the following slate: Secretary-Treasurer, Lillian E. Fisher; for members to prepare for the next Conference, Professor James A. Robertson, chairman, Professor Whitaker, Professor Wilgus, the retiring chairman, Professor Rippy, and the Secretary-Treasurer. The members proposed for the 1939 nominating committee were Professor Rippy, chairman, Professor Wilgus, and Professor Dana G. Munro. The slate was accepted.

Professor Isaac J. Cox reported that the Council of the American Historical Association said that if it helped the Latin-American Conference financially it would be setting a precedent which it did not desire, and the group should bear its own expenses; consequently the matter was dropped.

A collection of \$7.10 was taken for secretarial expenses for next year.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

LILLIAN E. FISHER.

Secretary of the Latin-American Conference  
of the American Historical Association.

At the time of Dr. Robertson's death a volume commemorative of the beginning of the twentieth volume of *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* was in course of preparation by a number of his colleagues and associates. This will now become a memorial to the man and his work.

Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven has completed his manuscript on The Political Organization of Bolivia, and the same has been sent to the head of Carnegie Institution of Washington. Dr. Cleven traveled through Cuba for a month during the past summer.

Arrangements have just been completed for the publication of the series of lectures given in the first Winter Institute of Hispanic-American Studies of the University of Miami, held at Coral Gables between January 9 and 27. Drs. Robert E. McNicoll and J. Riis Owre, the directors of the Institute, departed from the traditional Latin-American forums and presented a group of authorities on Latin-American history and culture. The lecturers were divided into groups: historians, Professors J. Fred Rippy, John Tate Lanning, and Wilfrid H. Callcott; three specialists in the cultural background of Hispanic America, Professor Homero Serís of Madrid, Professor Ralph S. Boggs, folklorist of Chapel Hill, and Mr. Richard Pattee of the division of cultural relations of the Department of State. The University of Miami has long taken advantage of its peculiar location and contacts to promote Pan-Americanism and studies in the history and institutions of Latin America.

The Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericano was created by the first International Congress of Professors of Ibero American Literature celebrated under the auspices of the National University of Mexico, August 22, 1938. Among its other tasks, the Institute will publish a *Revista Iberoamericana*. This review will reach about 250 pages to the volume and will be issued under the directorship of five eminent professors. It is planned to have two types of membership—regular members and sustaining members. Membership blanks may be obtained from Professor John E. Englekirk, treasurer of the Institute, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Checks should be sent to the same address and should be made payable to the order of the International Institute of Ibero-American Literature. The editorial board of the *Revista* is composed of Roberto Brenes Mesén, Northwestern University, Carlos García-Prada, Washington University, Sturgis E. Leavitt, University of North Carolina, and Arturo Torres Riosco, University of California. Francisco Monterde of the National University of Mexico, is managing director.

“Executive Agreement Series”, for the exchange of official publications, Nos. 103, 112, 123, and 134 between the United States of America and Peru (effected by exchange of notes, signed October



16 and 20, 1936); Chile (effected by exchange of notes signed October 22 and 27, 1937); Cuba (effected by exchange of notes signed May 4 and 12, 1938); and Mexico (effected by exchange of notes signed June 3 and August 29, 1938) have been issued by the U. S. Government Printing Office (1937-1939). The exchanges received from the four countries noted above will be sent to the Library of Congress.

Dr. Robert Denhardt, who has lately accepted a teaching position in Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, is completing a book on the arrival and spread of the Spanish horse in North America. Offshoots of this book are the notes recently published in this REVIEW, as well as "Beginnings of the American Horse" which appeared in the *New Mexican Historical Review*, XIII, No. 3, July, 1938; and "Morzillo, the Horse that became a God", in the *Southwest Review*, XXIII, No. 2, January, 1938.

Dr. Silvio Zavala, of Mérida, Yucatán, recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship, is at present in the United States. He has spent several years in Spain in the study of Mexicana, and has prepared for publication some fifteen volumes of documents of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, concerning labor in New Spain. He is pursuing the same study in the United States. He is the editor of *Revista de Historia de América*, which is published by the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, of Mexico.

### EL PRIMER CONGRESO INTERAMERICANO DE INDIANISTAS

For perhaps the first time in the history of the Andean republics a concerted and intelligent effort is being put forth to grapple with the ever-present problem of the indigenous races. As every one knows, the history of the Quechuas and Aymarás has been a tragic and seemingly a hopeless one. Attempts to ameliorate the lot of these unfortunates have, with some honorable exceptions, been ineffectual. Such improvements as have taken place owe more to private initiative than to governmental action. It is recognized by all serious students that we have a problem of major importance in the social evolution of large sections of Hispanic America.

It may be safely hazarded that the country which in recent decades has done most to raise the status of its Indian inhabitants is Mexico. It was not inappropriate, therefore, that at the Third Pan American Conference on Education, which met in Mexico City in

1937, a resolution was adopted that there be held in La Paz, Bolivia, in the summer of 1939 a congress for the purpose of "studying and discussing the type of education most applicable to the Indian" in the hope that from the deliberations of the congress should emerge a concrete program for "the raising of the economic and social level of the more backward elements of the continent". And it may be added that this congress met with the hearty endorsement of the Lima Conference last December.

In the planning of the La Paz congress the governments of Bolivia and Mexico have been working in the closest cooperation. Every effort is being made to utilize the experience which the northern republic has gained in dealing with the Indian question. It is significant in this connection that early in the present year the governments of Bolivia and Mexico agreed to raise the status of their diplomatic missions in the respective capitals from legations to embassies. The chief reason assigned in the case of Bolivia is "the great similarity between the problems of the two countries particularly as regards the native". It may be noted that one of Bolivia's ablest diplomats, Dr. Enrique Finot, former minister to the United States and later minister of foreign affairs, has been appointed to the new embassy in Mexico City.

The program, list of committees, and agenda of the congress at La Paz have already been drawn up. Anything like a detailed appraisal of the agenda is impossible in this brief paper. But some notion of the scope and character of the congress may be gained by noting the functions of the various commissions. The list of these bodies follows:

1. Sentido sociológico de la escuela campesina.
2. Higiene, asistencia médica y alimentación.
3. Educación del adulto.
4. Educación artística y folclorista.
5. Educación cívica y física.
6. Reducción del Selvícola. Interpretación económica y social de la Catéquesis Jesuita Colonial.
7. Construcciones escolares campesinos y vivienda indígena.
8. El campesino biológico. Antropológica y psicológicamente juzgado.
9. Regímenes de Trabajo y de la propiedad agraria en América.
10. ¿Existe el Indio?
11. Supervivencia de instituciones ancestrales en la cultura campesina.
12. ¿Existe todavía la necesidad de una legislación indígena?
13. Valor de la prehistoria, del coloniaje y de la historia contemporánea en la formación de la cultura americana.
14. Caracter internacional permanente de los congresos indigenistas campesinos.

As presidents of these commissions, some of the ablest scholars and administrators in Bolivia have been appointed. Among them

may be mentioned Sr. Cecelio Guzmán de Rojas, Director of the National Academy of Fine Arts; Professor Arturo Posnansky, the well known archaeologist; Dr. Julio Téllez Reyes, under-secretary of the ministry of foreign relations, Dr. Alberto Zelada, minister of labor. It is expected that strong delegations will be sent by all of the countries in which large indigenous populations are to be found. Each country may send as many as eight delegates.

The proof of the real significance of this gathering will of course lie in its permanent results. The problem of raising the general level of the Indians is a heart-breaking one and can only be accomplished by ceaseless effort and tireless vigilance. It is conceivable that once the initial enthusiasm has evaporated the old forces of inertia, apathy and selfishness will again hold sway. Powerful elements in all of these countries are in favor of the maintenance of the status quo. Hopeful signs, however, abound. Among the delegates will be many of the foremost sociologists and anthropologists in Hispanic America. There will be a general desire to see the recommendations of the congress translated into concrete achievements. Should this be the case, the chief benefits would accrue to Bolivia, the South American country in which the Indian problem is perhaps the most acute. As is well known the present government of the republic is one of moderate socialism, avoiding, as President Busch pointed out in a recent radio address, the utopian schemes of the extreme left, as well as the selfish reactionary ideas of the extreme right. The improvement of the lot of the Indians has figured prominently in official announcements of recent years. Much has already been done in the field of rural education. The grievous wounds inflicted by the Chaco War are healing. The national budget has at last been balanced. Something akin to a renaissance, especially in the field of social endeavor, would seem to be in store for Bolivia. But perhaps the most hopeful omen is the fact that the most responsible elements in Bolivian public life are at length fully alive to the supreme importance of the indigenous elements of the population. Here perhaps lies the chief significance of the La Paz congress.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### RECENT GERMAN BOOKS RELATING TO HISPANIC AMERICA

#### *Geography*

America continues being a great favorite with the German geographers. After having lost their leading position in ancient American geography and history to the North American scholars, they are devoting themselves again to properly geographical problems. In his book *Zur Geographie der Republik Guatemala* (Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg, 1936, pp. 182), Franz Termer, the director of the Ethnographical Museum at Hamburg, takes up afresh problems that were dealt with in general lines about forty years ago by Karl Sapper. Commissioned by the Geographische Gesellschaft of Hamburg, Herr Termer started in 1925 on an exploratory tour that lasted for four years. The journey, as well as the ethnological questions of northern Central America, have been the subject of a former book. The book here referred to contains papers on the physical geography of central and south Guatemala. Though purely geographical, these papers deserve being pointed out as of fundamental value. Moreover, they will be followed by an anthropographical treatise promising rich materials to the historian.

Herr Termer is also the author of a little treatise on German and North-American Studies concerning Hispanic American Countries: *Deutsche und nordamerikanische Auslandforschung in den iberomerikanischen Ländern* (Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg, 1936, pp. 21). His principal subject is the character and successes of German scholars since the World War. But he also shows how scholars of the United States of America have applied themselves and have outstripped the Germans who were handicapped through lack of funds.

Almost every year sees the publication by Friederichsen, Gruyter at Hamburg of an important work on South America. The author of the newest, Helmut Kanter, deals with the Gran Chaco in an octavo volume of 376 pages, namely, *Der Gran Chaco und seine Randgebiete*. His object has been far less to discover new ground than to acquire a sound knowledge of the main features of the various types of landscapes. It is therefore an indispensable companion to the books by

Krieg, Baldus, etc., that have been mentioned formerly in this REVIEW. Kanter traveled about 15,000 kilometers—6,300 of these during 17 months (April, 1930, to September, 1931). The means for this were contributed chiefly by the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung, the Geographische Gesellschaft Hamburg, and the Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft. A sort of diary of the several journeys precedes a survey of the Chaco landscapes, this forming a happy blending of prior information and the author's own discoveries. The historian will get reliable information on the conditions of life in the Chaco. The population is dealt with in the last chapter. The book, which can easily claim first rank among works on the Chaco, contains 44 photographs and 84 text illustrations. There is also a list of literature on the same subject.

A fairly good example of travel literature is Colin Ross, *Der Balkan Amerikas* (F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1937). This latest book by Herr Ross on Mexico and Central America will doubtlessly appeal to the German reader, for whom it has been written, but Americans may find only its "geopolitical" outlook interesting.

### *Ethnology*

Karl Sapper, the pioneer of the German geographers dealing with America, makes some interesting observations in the introduction to his recent treatise *Geographie und Geschichte der amerikanischen Landwirtschaft* (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Hamburg, 1936, pp. 98) concerning the migrations of the Indians across Bering Strait. He does not believe the Amerinds to be an autochthonous American people, but admits the possibility of a final assimilation of their bodily features and of their languages on American soil. As manager of a coffee plantation in the Alta Verapaz, Karl Sapper had an excellent opportunity to study agricultural technique in the tropics. His description of the tools employed—a subject much neglected hitherto—is especially useful. Sapper says:

A general survey of American agriculture results in the impression of a gigantic performance accomplished by the Indians. American plants had to be adapted through systematic cultivation to utterly divergent natural conditions. Immense stretches of soil were thus submitted to cultivation. The range of distribution of the most important plants within the tropics has not been increased since to any considerable extent.

A very interesting chapter is the one on precolumbian influences on ancient Indian agriculture. Sapper proves for instance that the sweet

potato is an American plant. Its introduction into Melanesia and Polynesia, he says, goes back to the Spaniards only. European beasts and plants have been used only by the immigrants and their descendants, whereas the Indians became very rarely dependent on them. The same reluctance of the native Indian extends also to the use of European tools. Nearly one-half of the agricultural Indian population still observe their old ways of work.

In his book *Indiana*, Vol. I, *Leben, Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala*, Leonhard Schultze Jena dealt with the remaining bits of Maya culture. The second volume, *Indiana*, Vol. II, *Mythen in der Muttersprache der Pipil von Izalco in El Salvador* (Gustav Fischer, Jena, 1935, pp. 364), is a new mine of wealth of precious information. Schultze Jena gathered this material during his three months' stay among the Pipils of the village Izalco in El Salvador. He was enabled to do this, thanks to the joint financial help in Germany and the Committee on Research in American Native Languages. His aim was

to study the languages of the Pilis in order to discover the remains of a language that was spoken at the times when this surviving part of an old population split off from the Mayas, and to state how far this remainder is still serving as a means of communication.

The richest information was to be obtained from the myths. The vaguest notions only exist about the time of their origin. The immigration of the Pipils into El Salvador is assumed to have taken place about 300 A.D., but this is a mere working hypothesis. Schultze Jena seems to have been particularly fortunate in his interviews with the Indians, for they proved all to be very talkative. This, it seems, must be attributed to his carefully avoiding proposing any definite topic for the conversations. He simply invited them "to tell him what they used to tell each other". The daily life of these people yielded plenty of starting points. All these conversations are put down unabridged in the book, in the original language as well as in a German translation. The second part deals with the language of the Pipils of Izalco. The texts were, as the author says, "the source and the touchstone for the knowledge of the laws of the language". Schultze Jena has succeeded in compiling a good grammar to which a list of words is attached.

In 1938, the concluding volume of *Indiana* was published, namely, *Bei den Azteken, Mixteken und Tlapaneken in der Sierra Madre del Sur von Mexico* (G. Fischer, Jena, 1938, pp. 384). It contains the contributions by Schultze Jena (October, 1929 to 1930) on the



eastern parts of the state of Guerrero south of the upper course of the Río Balsas. This solid work represents a complete geographical and ethnological picture of the Sierra Madre del Sur. American philologists will find an analysis of the language of the Mixtecs and Tlapanecs with the corresponding word lists. Ethnologists will be interested in the Mixtec texts and the tales of the Tlapanecs. There are three more studies by other scholars on subjects of natural science. The three volumes of *Indiana* are beautifully illustrated.

### *Precolumbian History*

Shortly before his death, the ethnologist and historian, Heinrich Cunow, finished a work that has now been edited by S. Rudolf Steinmetz, namely, *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches* (Elzevier, Amsterdam, 1938, pp. 208). Cunow severely criticizes the tales of the contemporaries of the Incas and the myths of the Incas themselves. The result is a clear, critical description of the earliest history of the empire of the Incas. The detection of the many unsolved problems is made easy to the reader, who thus can judge of the amount of work that is still to be done. Owing to his perfect mastering of linguistical difficulties, Cunow has been able to consult the original sources and thus to correct many old errors. The very complicated relationships are disentangled. It will be the business of the Americanists to discuss the results of Cunow's searching criticism.

The Spanish civil war is bound to cause to Americanists real concern on account of the rich treasures of the Spanish archives and libraries that have not yet been investigated. New documents of enormous value for the knowledge of the precolumbian history of America are constantly being discovered. Some time ago, Hermann Trimborn (Madrid), with the help of Frobenius's Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie has published from the inexhaustible treasures of the Spanish archives his *Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte des präkolumbischen Amerika* (Strecker und Schröder, Stuttgart, 1936, pp. 262). This volume contains the original text, its German translation and a scientific apparatus. In the volume appears the "Descripción del reino del Peru", by Balthasar Ramírez (1597). The second source was found in the library of the convent of El Escorial. It is the "Guerra de los Chichimecas" of Gonzalo de las Casas (1571-1585). Furthermore, Trimborn gives for the first time a final and complete edition of the "Relación y declaración del . . . valle de Chincha" by Christobal and Diego de Ortega Marejón. Little use thitherto had been made of this work.

Fritz Röck, director of the Ethnological Museum at Vienna, published a new complete German edition of William Prescott's *The Conquest of Peru* (Verlag Josef Belf, Wien). It contains also Prescott's notes. An index of sources and 74 illustrations make this extremely dear but distinguished-looking book very valuable and attractive.

HANS W. HARTMANN.

Zürich, Switzerland.

## SOME NEW AND RECENT HISTORICAL AND ALLIED REVIEWS

Below are listed with pertinent data a few new and recent reviews. No attempt has been made to cover the field.

### *Bibliografía Mexicana*

Quarterly; published in Mexico City; the organ of the Asociación de Libreros; address Apartado Postal, 2754, México, D. F. The first issue is that of July, 1938 (Nos. 1-2). Subscription rates for Mexico are two dollars (Mex. currency); and for foreign countries, one dollar U. S. currency. In the first issue (Nos. 1-2) appears *Bibliografía Mexicana*, 1938, in which are listed 336 titles. No. 3 (published in October, 1938), carries the list from 337 to 661. The purpose of the publication is to increase the sale of books.

### *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana* (Mexico)

Quarterly; published by the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia; director Dr. Alfonso Caso; secretary, Professor Wigberto Jiménez Moreno. All correspondence relating to the *Boletín* should be addressed to the Director, Avenida del Observatorio, Núm. 192, Tacubaya, D. F. The section "Revista de Libros" is edited by Emilio Romero. There is also a section devoted to "Información General", and one to "Publicaciones recibidas". Considerable attention is paid to bibliography and various lists of titles are published. The fourth issue of Vol. I, namely, that for October-December, 1937, and Nos. 1, 2, and 3 (a single issue), of Vol. II (for January-September, 1938) have been seen.

### *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* (Ciudad Trujillo, Santo Domingo)

Quarterly; published by Editora Montalvo; first issue, March 31, 1938; editors, Licentiate Gilberto Sánchez Lustrino, sub-secretary of State, Luis E. Aybar R., and Luis E. Alemar—all of the Archivo General de la Nación. Materials published in Nos. 1, 3, and 4 of Vol. I, are as follows:

March, 1938 (Vol. I, No. 1).

Índice General de las Libretas copiadas en Archivos Extranjeros que constituyen la llamada "Colección Lugo".



- Indice general de los Libros Copiadores de Oficios de Relaciones Exteriores.  
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*Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno (Guatemala)*

Quarterly; published under the auspices of the Secretaría de Gobernación y Justicia; Director, Professor J. Joaquín Pardo; address, Cuarta Avenida Norte, número 4, Guatemala City. (For the early issues, see this REVIEW, XVII, November, 1937, No. 4, pp. 576-579).

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 Documentos acerca de la Cooperación de Guatemala en la Independencia de Centro América.  
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- a) Cuarta Parte:—Los Pasquines y la Junta de Censura.
- b) Quinta Parte:—El Absolutismo.
- c) Sexta Parte:—Restablecimiento de la Constitución.
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Índice de los Documentos existentes en el Archivo del Gobierno (continued).

### *The Historian Phi Alpha Theta*

Semiannual; published at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Editorial Board: Frank Harmon Garver, Alfred Proctor James, and George P. Hammond, editor. Subscription: one dollar per annum. Business communications may be sent to Donald B. Hoffman, 1046 North 18th St., Allentown, Pennsylvania. Correspondence in regard to contributions may be sent to the Editor, Box 188, University of New Mexico. Established primarily for the publication of articles written by members of the honor historical fraternity, Phi Alpha Theta. The editor requests that articles be prepared in good historical form. No. 1 (Winter, 1938) of this review has lately come from the press. Articles touching Hispanic America are as follows:

Denhardt, Robert M., Spanish Horses and the New World.

Martin, William J., Correlations between the thought of the United States and the History of Hispanic America.

### *Pan American Book Shelf* (Washington)

Monthly; published by the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union in multigraph form. Charles C. Babcock, editor. Subscription free upon application. Now in its second year. Each issue contains notes of the field in general and lists of books acquired by the Columbian Library of the Pan American Union. Vol. II, No. 3 (March, 1939) has recently been issued.

### *Revista de Historia de América*

Quarterly; published by Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Mexico. Editors: Silvio Zavala, director; Francisco Monterde; and Felipe Teixidor. Published at Av. del Observatorio, 192, Tacubaya, D. F. The first issue was that of March, 1938. The directing council consists of José Torre Revello (Argentina), Gustavo Barroso (Brazil), José María Chacón y Calvo (Cuba), Raúl Silva Castro (Chile), César Vásquez R. (Ecuador), Rafael Heliodoro Valle (Hon-



duradas), Baltasar Isaza Calderón (Panama), Cecilio Báez (Paraguay), Jorge Basadre (Peru), and Elzear S. Giuffra (Uruguay). Materials already published are as follows:

March, 1938 (Vol. I, No. 1).

Altamira, Rafael, *La Legislación Indiana como Elemento de la Historia de las Ideas coloniales Españolas.*

Hanke, Lewis, *The "Requerimiento" and its Interpreters.*

Levene, Ricardo, *El Plan Orgánico de la "Historia de la Nación Argentina".*

Moreno Villa, José, *Nota sobre algunos Documentos referentes a México . . . existentes en el Archivo del Palacio Nacional de Madrid.*

Reyes, Alfonso, *Reseña sobre el Erasmismo en América.*

Torre Revello, José, *El Archivo General de la Nación Argentina.*

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, *Bibliografía de Historia de América.*

Zavala, Silvio, *Las Encomiendas de Nueva España y el Gobierno de Don Antonio de Mendoza.*

June, 1938 (Vol. I, No. 2).

Lanning, John Tate, *Cortes and his first Official Remission of Treasure to Charles V.*

Torre Revello, José, *La Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.*

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, *Bibliografía de Historia de América.*

Zavala, Silvio, *Los Trabajadores Antillanos en el Siglo XVI.*

September, 1938 (Vol. I, No. 3).

Carrancá y Trujillo, Raúl, *El Estatuto jurídico de los Esclavos en las Postrimerías de la Colonización Española.*

Portell Vilá, Herminio, *Un Esfuerzo Panamericano en favor de la Independencia de Cuba, 1872-1875.*

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, *Bibliografía de Historia de América.*

Zavala, Silvio, *Los Trabajadores Antillanos en el Siglo XVI (concluded).*

In this issue is contributed a document by José Torre Revello, namely, *Relación de Meritos de don Juan Joseph de Equiara y Eguren, dated July 8, 1757.*

### *The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*

Published at 41 Holden St., Cambridge, Massachusetts. Editor: John J. B. McCulloch. Managing Editor: Frank P. Davidson. Business Editor: Jack D. Andrews. Associate Editors: John H. McDonald, Felipe Tudela. Circulation Manager: Edwin S. Elwell, Jr. Subscription price, forty cents per number; or \$1.50 per annum. First number issued January, 1939. Articles as follows:

Alfaro, Ricardo J., *Toward an American Association of Nations.*

Brebner, J. Bartlett, *Canadian Choice in Foreign Policy.*

Freyre, Gilberto, *The Negro in Brazilian Culture and Society.*

Hanson, Simon G., *Problems of an Inter-American Economy.*

Haring, Clarence H., *Is there a Fascist Danger in South America?*

Herring, Hubert, *The Pan American Dream.*

Hinton, Harold, *Is Latin America News?*

Torres-Rioseco, Arturo, *Social Trends in the Latin American Novel.*